THE EARLY LIFE OF OU-YANG HSIU

AND

HIS RELATION TO THE RISE OF THE KU-WEN MOVEMENT OF THE SUNG DYNASTY

VOL.1.

Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of London, Faculty of Arts.

by

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VOL. I.

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The purpose of this thesis is twofold: to provide a preliminary study for a complete biography of the Sung writer and official Ou-yang Hsiu - a subject which has so far been neglected by Chinese and European scholars alike - and to investigate his relation to the establishment of Han Yü as China's greatest prose writer, and the development of the ku-wên movement - again a matter which has been for the most part neglected, and where considered at all presented in a very false perspective.

This thesis is accordingly divided into two sections:-

1. Biographical.

This contains details of the Ou-yang clan and of Hsiu's family in particular, the circumstances of his childhood, youth and early career, up to and including his thirtieth year, when he was dismissed from the capital to spend a period of exile in the provinces. The general historical and administrative background details of the incident which led to his dismissal and biographical details of his contemporaries are included only in so far as they affect Hsiu himself.

2. Literary.

The beginning of Hsiu's official career raises the question of his position in the field of literature, which is reviewed in this section.

A brief survey is given of the nature and development of the ku-wên movement up to the beginning of the Sung dynasty. Technical matter has been omitted as this is to be the subject of a separate article, now in the course of preparation.

This is followed by a consideration of the Sung ku-wên writers prior to Ou-yang Hsiu. Thereafter the position of Ou-yang Hsiu is considered in relation to this background.

Both the biographical and the literary sections extend to the year 1036, at which point the first period of Hsiu's career is brought to a close by his banishment.

A thesis which covers, as this does, an extensive and neglected field inevitably raises many problems which fall outside its scope. Some of these are set out briefly in a final chapter, with suggestions of the lines along which further research into them might be pursued.

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P A R T I

INTRODUCTION

In the field of sinology detailed biographical research is a neglected study. A variety of titles exist, amongst which the following may be cited:

Florence Ayscough:	Tu Fu.
Derk Bodde:	China's First Unifier: Li Ssŭ. Statesman, Patriot and General in Ancient China. (Translation of three biographies of the Shih Chi.)
C.P. Fitzgerald:	Son of Heaven. The biography of Li Shih-min.
F.E.A. Krause:	Tsêng Kung. (Translation of biography in the Sung Shih.)
Lin Yü-t'ang:	Gay Genius. A biography of Su Tung-p'o.
Nancy Lee Swan:	Pan Ch'ao. China's greatest Woman Poet.
Arthur Waley:	The Life and Times of Po Chü-i.
H.R. Williamson:	Wang An-shih.

There are also a number of more modern biographical works of varying lengths such as Ku Chieh-kang's 'Autobiography of a Chinese Historian' which has been translated by Arthur Hummel, and works on Lin Tsê-hsü, Tsêng Kuo-fan and Tso Tsung-t'ang by Gideon Chên, a biography of Sun Yat-sen by Lyon Sharman, and so on. Considered in relatio to the number and importance of the subjects available

however - (there are for instance some two thousand poets in the T'ang dynasty alone to say nothing of her prose writers and her statemen) - and the wealth of sources from which material may be drawn, they represent only a meagre contribution.

The official biographies included in the dynastic annals provide only the bare minimum of information from which to build up a coherent narrative against which a man's actions and reactions may be interpreted. The bulk of the material is to be found elsewhere, - in the Annals themselves, in the collected writings of the man concerned, in the works of his contemporaries and followers, in correspondence, in unofficial biographical sketches, in obituary notices, in encyclopaedias and in general histories, commentaries and dissertations.

The present thesis is an attempt to produce, by a synthesis of materials drawn from sources such as these, the background from which the events of Ou-yang Hsiu's later life and career should be viewed. The period dealt with (1007-1036 A.D.) covers Hsiu's early life up to a point at which four years of exile form a dividing line between the beginnings of his political and literary career, and the more important events which developed

after his return to office in 1040.

Historically, this early period takes its significance from later events. Hsiu never rose to the highest positions in either the political or the literary fields, but he made important contributions in both and inevitably his more mature activities were very largely conditioned by the circumstances of his youth and the influences to which he was subjected during his first years in office. Thus, his reactions to the early struggles which were a marked feature of the reign of the Emperor Jên Tsung (1023-1064) were predetermined - one might almost say inhibited - by his Confucian upbringing, while his arrival in Lo-yang in 1031 precipitated a far-reaching movement of literary and ethical reform which, had he been posted to office elsewhere, might well have been delayed much longer than it already was.

The nature and development of this movement and Hsiu's position in it is dealt with in the second part of this thesis.

CHAPTER I

FAMILY, CHILDHOOD AND EARLY YEARS

Records of the genealogy of the Ou-yang[1] clan date back to the establishment of the double surname Ou-yang, which was created about the year B.C. 332 by one named Ti.[2] His father, Wu-chiang,[3] a descendant in the fifth generation of Kou-chien,[4] ruler of the state of Yüeh,[5] was overcome by the ruler of Ch'u,[6] and his clan dispersed. Wu-chiang's sons all secured feoffs from Ch'u, Ti being given land south of the Ou-yü[7] mountain, and adopting the title of Marquis of the Ou-yang Pavilion.[8] His descendants took the double name Ou-yang as that of the clan.

At the beginning of the Han dynasty[9] one member of the family, whose name is unknown, held office as prefect of Cho-chün.[10][11] His descendants divided into two branches, some living at Ch'ien-ch'êng[12] in Ch'ing-chou[13] and some at Po-hai[14] in Chi-chou.[15] The record of the branch of the clan which settled at Ch'ien-ch'êng is incomplete. Its most notable member was Ou-yang Sheng[16] who held a doctorate[17] under the Han dynasty and enjoyed a considerable reputation for his exposition of the text of the Book of History,[18]

which he is said to have composed under the tutorship of Fu Shêng.[19]

At the time of the rebellion of Ssŭ-ma Lun[20] a descendant of the Po-hai branch of the Ou-yang clan[21] fled south with his family and made his home at Lin-hsiang.[22] After this period there is a gap of seven generations in the records, the next member of the clan of whom anything is known being Ching-ta,[23] who had an official, though undistinguished,[24] career in the state of Ch'i. Thereafter the clan is traceable through eight generations to the time of Ou-yang Ts'ung,[25] who held office as prefect[26] of Chi-chou,[27] where his descendants made their home. Of these descendants there is no record for the next seven generations,[28] but from Ou-yang Wan of the eighth generation onwards the record is complete down to Hsiu himself, who was a descendant in the ninth generation from Wan.[29]

In his writings Ou-yang Hsiu sometimes describes himself as a man of Lu-ling,[30] sometimes as Ou-yang Hsiu of Yung-fêng.[31] The latter is perhaps the more accurate description. Ou-yang Wan, from whom Hsiu was directly descended, held office as prefect[32] of An-fu Hsien[33] in Chi-chou. Some of his descendants settled there, others at Lu-ling, and others at Chi-shui.[34] Hsiu's grandfather,

Yen,[35] settled at Sha-hsi.[36] Later, in the second year of the Chih Hê[37] period of the reign of the Emperor Jên Tsung[38] of the Sung[39] dynasty, Chi-shui was renamed Yung-fêng Hsien, and Sha-hsi was incorporated into this hsien. It was, moreover, at Yung-feng and not at Lu-ling, that Hsiu buried his parents and two of his wives.

Hsiu's father, Kuan,[40] was orphaned at an early age, and in his youth devoted himself energetically to study; he did not, however, obtain his chin shih[41] degree until 1000 A.D., when he had already reached the age of forty-three. He held, consecutively, four official appointments all of them in the provinces.[42] Hsiu's mother was Kuan's second wife. He had divorced his first wife, who returned to her parents' home, taking with her their young son, Ping.[4] Of Ping very little is known. He is said to have taken his degree and to have returned to his father, from whom he received rather less affection and consideration than he might have hoped for.[44] Ou-yang Hsiu makes no mention of this half-brother until late in his career, when he secured for Ping's son an official appointment[45] at Lu-ling.

Kuan's second wife was a daughter of the Chêng[46] family. By her he had three children - a son who died while less than a year old,[47] Hsiu himself,[48] and a daughter.

Hsiu was born on 6th August 1007, shortly after his father had taken up office at Mien-chou in Ssŭ-ch'uan[49].

A post in Ssŭ-ch'uan was much coveted by provincial officials. The favourable climate and abundant natural resources provided attractive and profitable living conditions. Mien-chou is situated in a wide plain, encircled by hills whose lower slopes are carpeted with flowers and whose steep sides are luxuriant with forests of larch, pine and rhododendron. Between the hills run deep valleys, carved out of the soft rock by swift-flowing streams. Intensive land cultivation produced as many as three crops in a agricultural season lasting through eleven months of the year. Tea, silk and salt formed an ample source of revenue, both for the central government and for the local officials[50]. The Ou-yang family, therefore, although far from wealthy, probably enjoyed a sufficiency.

In the year 1010, however, when Hsiu was in his fourth year, his father was transferred to T'ai-chou[51] where, after a brief tenure of office, he died.

An official who died in office as Administrator of "Current Affairs"[52] for a province at the age of fifty-nine can hardly be said to have had a distinguished career. Nevertheless, Kuan had enjoyed the reputation of being a

scrupulous and humane official. In the conduct of his magisterial duties he had sincerely endeavoured to mitigate, wherever possible, the rigorous prescripts of the law. He professed and practised the principles of Confucianism, and enjoined upon his wife the duty of inculcating these principles in their son.

It would, indeed, have benefited his family had his observance of Confucian ethics been a little less thorough. So concerned was he to avoid any suspicion of worldliness or profit-seeking, that he not only refrained from furthering his material prosperity by legitimate means but deliberately arranged his economies so that anything left in reserve from his moderate salary was immediately disbursed in hospitality to others and in this way he was rescued from the "embarrassment" of possessions. As a result death left his family in a condition of absolute penury for he bequeathed them "neither stick nor tile" wherewith to support or protect themselves.[53] He was buried in the following year at Lung-kang[54] in Chiang-hsi,[54A] receiving several posthumous titles,[55] and being enfeoffed as Duke of Ch'ung-kuo.[56]

The duty of providing suitable burial rites devolved upon the eldest son, but it is not known whether Hsiu's half-brother, Ping, assumed these responsibilities or

whether they were shouldered by Kuan's widow. The obituary notice usually composed on such occasions was not written at the time of Kuan's death, but some sixty years later by Hsiu himself.[57]

Mrs. Ou-yang, who was twenty-nine years of age when her husband died, decided to remain a widow, and taking her children with her she travelled to Sui-chou[58] where her brother-in-law, Ou-yang Yeh,[59] held office as magistrate.

The unexpected addition of three members to his household must have been something of an embarrassment to Yeh, who, on a salary no greater than that which Kuan had received, was already supporting a wife, four sons and a daughter.[60] Nevertheless he treated his relatives with unfailing kindness, making no distinction between his nephew and his sons, and Hsiu repaid him with all the affection and respect which his generosity deserved.

From the few details available Yeh emerges as a much more attractive figure than his brother Kuan to whom he bore a strong resemblance in appearance and, in some respect in character. A grave and dignified man, he united the integrity and humanitarian principles of his brother with a sense of humour and an appreciation of practical needs which Kuan had lacked.

It was fortunate that he did so, for the district of Han-tung,[61] where his home was, was one of meagre resources, where the people frequently had great difficulty in wringing a livelihood from the barren soil. Every acre of land was under cultivation, and even in comparatively fruitful years the luxury of a garden could be enjoyed by only a few wealthy families. With one of these families[62] - a branch of the Li[63] clan in Nan-chou - Yeh was acquainted, and the boy Hsiu soon became the constant companion of the children of the household, of whom Yao,[64] one of the sons,[65] remained a lifelong friend.

The Li family possessed not only a garden, but also a library - equally a rarity in the district - and Hsiu took full advantage of the facilities which it offered. The history of Hsiu's early education rests largely on the legend that his mother, who could not afford writing materials, taught him to write by scratching with a reed in the ashes of the fire, or in the dust.[66] The implications of this story need not be altogether discounted, but fortunately the essential elements of his early training are to be sought elsewhere.

Although Hsiu described Han-tung as "an obscure and uncultivated place with no scholars"[67] and regretted that he was "largely self-taught, and had no master when young to inculcate proper principles",[68] yet there is

little doubt that Yeh, like other officials holding posts in remote districts, supervised the education of his own sons, and most probably Hsiu was given a grounding in the classics with them. It is, moreover, not unlikely that he received some education with the children of the Li family. Whether this was of a systematic nature or not is not clear but he and Yao certainly spent much time together in the library, reading every text they could understand and many that they could not.[69]

It was in this way that Hsiu, when he was ten years old, discovered the works of the T'ang[70] writer, Han Yü,[71] stuffed into an old crate which had been pushed into the corner of the Li family's library. The covers were missing the chapters were out of order and the copy was incomplete. But Hsiu, turning over the tattered pages, of which, he confessed, he could then understand no more than a twentiet part, was amazed by the vigour and mastery of the style and begged to be allowed to take the books away. The results of this chance find were to become of major importance to the development of Chinese literature, for the works of Han Yü exercised a great and lasting influence on Hsiu himself, and through him on the writings of others. Fourteen years later he began the valuable work of restoring and collating Han Yü's writings,[72] and came, by this means, to

influence practically every Confucian scholar of note, until a belated recognition of Han Yü's talent was secured, and his reputation established as the greatest of China's prose writers.

Hsiu's early years were uneventful, and he did not have "much contact with others".[73] Of his boyhood friends he mentions only one, apart from the Li family, but to this one he was evidently much attached. At the age of fifteen or sixteen he met Huang Mêng-shêng,[74] two years his senior, "attractive in appearance, a good drinker, and an entertaining companion." He also possessed more academic qualitie for when Hsiu and he sat for their degree seven years later he was placed high on the list of successful candidates. Thereafter they were separated and did not meet again until 1037-8, when Hsiu was living in exile. Huang died in 1040 at the age of forty-two "without having realised his ambitions."[75]

Most of Hsiu's time during the years which he spent at his uncle's home at Sui-chou was occupied in preparing for the exacting requirements of the examination for the chin shih degree.

This examination was the most important of a series of examinations which, in early Sung times, closely resembled those in force during the T'ang dynasty.[76]

Theoretically, it was the only passport to an official career, and it was certainly true that only those who succeeded in obtaining the chin shih degree had any prospect of being appointed to higher government offices. Those who passed only regional tests or obtained lesser degrees were usually relegated to minor posts in the provinces.[77]

To qualify for a chin shih degree in the Sung period the candidate had to satisfy the following requirements:[77]

1. To compose a piece of regulated verse.
2. To compose a piece of free verse or rhymed prose.
3. To compose a piece of prose in free style.
4. To compose an essay covering five separate questions relating to political subjects.[78]
5. To write an amplification of ten different articles taken from the Analects of Confucius.[79]
6. To write an exposition of ten articles selected from the Spring and Autumn Annals[80] and the Book of Rites.[81]

Candidates were classed in five grades according to their merits which, in the case of the chin shih, were judged rather from the point of view of style than of analytical ability, which was the criterion in lower degrees.[82]

Although successful candidates in this examination were eligible to apply for official posts the government was under no obligation to place them. The percentage of successful candidates who received appointments varied according to the social and political circumstances of the time and one of the factors by which the placing of chin shih was governed was the extent to which certain other methods of selecting officials were employed.[83]

Members of the civil service could be recruited by transfer from military rank, although on the whole this method was not encouraged; by selection from other government employment of an inferior grade not technically falling within the framework of the civil service, or by means of degrees conferred by special dispensation on those who had failed the examination a number of times.

By far the most influential factor in counteracting the democratic working of the examination system, however, was the measures introduced in the Sui and T'ang dynasties, and reinforced during the Sung, by which access to an official career without examination was ensured for direct descendants of (acting) officials.

From the Han period onwards the best guarantee of employment in the majority of cases had always been the sponsorship of an influential official or the privileges which accrued to the candidate by virtue of his father's

rank. During the Sui and T'ang periods, when a more comprehensive scheme of examinations was instituted, the effect of this was still limited by the application of certain measures which ensured the preservation, at least to some extent, of a bureaucracy which was self-perpetuating.

During that time the system under which a son could enter the civil service by virtue of his father's office,[84] extended, with certain modifications, to grandsons and ever to great-grandsons if the forefather's rank were sufficient high. The granting of this privilege was automatic in the case of certain offices, but the number of beneficiaries was usually restricted to one or two persons.

Under the Sung dynasty emphasis on hereditary privilege became stronger, the potential beneficiaries being all male relatives coming within the five degrees of mourning,[86] and including relatives bearing a different surname. Attendants and physicians without blood or affinial ties also benefited on occasion under this system. Thus, a person entitled to these prerogatives could put forward several claims simultaneously.[87]

The percentage of persons recruited into the civil service by these various means seems to be uncertain[88] but

it is clear that the holding of a chin shih degree was, in the last resort, of paramount importance for those who wished to hold the highest posts in the empire. It was not unusual for men already ranking by prerogative as civil servants to sit for the degree, and for aspirants with no official antecedents it was an indispensable qualification.

One may then imagine the chagrin and despondency by which Hsiu was assailed when, in the year 1023 at the age of seventeen, he sat for the preliminary examination in Sui-chou and was rejected by the local authorities - a disappointment which can have been mitigated but little by the reflection that many eminent scholars secured the degree only after a number of attempts.

He was examined on this occasion on the misinterpretation of omens in the Tso chuan,[89] and his essay was "widely circulated and quoted". In the composition of the fu,[90] however, he used rhymes which failed to conform to the official requirements.[91]

Hsiu continued his studies for a further period of three years,[92] taking refuge from his disappointment in

the writings of the neglected Han Yü. "If scholars would but read this", he exclaimed, "they need go no farther."[93] The examination authorities, however, required a good deal more from their candidates than an immature enthusiasm for an obscure writer. In 1026 Hsiu passed the preliminary examination in Sui-chou, but when he sat for the chin shih examination in the capital in the spring of the following year he failed. His failure on this occasion must have been all the more humiliating, since he was dismissed durin the course of the examination, not on account of academic incompetence, but because of a "mishap", whereby his conduct was contrary to the rules of etiquette which candidate were expected to observe.[94]

This second failure must have been a matter of immediate practical concern in the economies of his uncle's household, for the expenses of the return journey from Han-tung to K'ai-fêng,[94A] and of Hsiu's maintenance in the capital during the examination period were considerable,[95] and his failure rendered them a total loss. Nevertheless, Yeh had great faith in his nephew's talents, frequently predicting that he would one day rise to fame, and in the following year he paid his expenses again. On this occasion

his generosity was not stretched so far, for Hsiu took the precaution of securing for himself a patron in the person of Hsü Yen, who was at that time acting as Administrator of Current Affairs[96] in Han-yang.[97]

Hsü Yen was greatly impressed by the young man's writings,[98] and immediately received him into his own household. In the winter of 1028, taking Hsiu with him, he returned to the capital by a leisurely route, arriving in the spring of the following year. Here Hsiu took first place in a qualifying examination at the Kuo Tzŭ Chien[99] and was admitted as a student of the Kuang Wên Kuan.[100] In the Autumn he was examined at the Kuo Hsüeh[101] and again took first place.

He was now able, for the first time, to enjoy some of the advantages without which it was well nigh impossible for a young man in his position to embark upon an official career. Hsü Yen's influence was considerable, and through him Hsiu met many of the leading scholars and officials of the day. Who they were he does not say, but one can form some conjecture as to the possibilities. Of the older statesmen and scholars of the period Yang I,[102] K'ou Chun,[103] Wang Ch'in-jo[104] and Wang Yü-ch'êng[105] were already dead; Liu Yün[106] had retired from service in the capital,

Ting Wei[106] was in exile and Mu Hsiu[106b] was in office in Ts'ai-chou.[106c] Thus Hsiu would not have made the acquaintance of these men. No doubt he knew them by repute, as he did the Sung brothers,[107] who were in the capital at this time, and he may have had a glimpse of Wang Ts'êng[108] who was in the capital until August of this year (i.e. 1029) when he was dismissed to Ch'ing-chou.[109]

It is probable that he met Hsia Sung[109] and Hsüeh K'uei,[110] who were both holding office as Grand Ministers,[110A] as were Ch'ên Yao-tso[111] and Wang Shu.[112] Lü I-chien,[113] who was increasing in authority and unscrupulousness, was in office as Regulator of Affairs in the Departments of State[114] and professor of the Chao Wên Kuan.[115] Fan Yung[116] was Imperial Vice-Commissar,[117] while Ch'ên T'sung-i[118] and Yang Ta-ya,[119] (both protagonists of the ku-wên style of writing since the Ching Tê period)[119A] were holding office in the Chief Executive Assembly[120] and Grand Secretariat[121] respectively.

The younger writers of this period, who subsequently became his followers, and whose brilliance far outshone his own, were not yet in the capital.

Tsêng Kung he did not meet until 1039-40[122] after returning from exile.[123]

Wang An-shih was introduced to Hsiu by Tsêng Kung,[123A][124] while the Su family[125] did not go to the capital until 1056.

The older officials, their followers and their opponents, were the centre of court intrigues which Wang Ch'in-jo and Ting Wei, in collaboration with the palace eunuchs,[126] had fostered during the reign of Chên-Tsung, under cover of his obsession with Taoist and Buddhist superstitions, and which the regency of a strong-minded Empress on behalf of his youthful successor did much to aggravate.

The Empress Liu[126A] was the second daughter of a penniless military officer who had died on active service. She was brought up by her mother's relatives and subsequently by a silversmith of Ssŭ-ch'uan, who took her to the capital and there trained her for court life. She was taken into the palace at the age of fifteen, and when Chên Tsung ascended the throne she became one of the imperial concubines. In 1013, much against the advice of his ministers, Chên Tsung selected her as Empress.

At this period Wang Ch'in-jo - scholar, astrologer, Taoist "miracle worker" and minister of state - was the

principal actor in a tragic and costly farce staged by the sick-minded Emperor at a moment when the whole of the north of the empire, from Tibet to the coast, was under threat of war.[127]

In 1004 A.D., the Khitans,[128] through a treaty with China, had secured peace on their southern frontier and took advantage of this to expand east and west. In the west they were on friendly terms with the Hsi Hsia[129] and in the east they seized the first opportunity to make their power felt in Korea. The supreme direction of the Chinese campaign against the Khitans had been in the hands of K'ou Chun, who was then holding the office of Regulator of Affairs in the Departments of State, and it was as a result of his endeavours that the peace treaty of 1004 had been concluded. The terms of this treaty were both humiliating and costly to the Chinese, and Wang Ch'in-jo took advantage of this fact to secure K'ou's dismissal.[130]

He was moved about in the provinces and was not recalled to court until 1011 when he was appointed Vice-President of the Grand Secretariat and Regulator of Affairs for the Board of Civil Office and the Chief Executive Assembly.[131] By this time Wang's hold on the Emperor was such as to render any opposition ineffective. Since China's

prestige could not be regained by force of arms, it must, Wang argued, be restored by an awe-inspiring display of splendour. Cynically urging Chên Tsung on into a world of chimeras and hallucinations in which he himself had no faith, he proceeded to deplete the treasury and dupe the people as his own interests dictated.

By 1020, Chên Tsung was reduced to a state of mental and physical incapacity which forced him to leave all important matters of state to the jurisdiction of the Empress Liu. K'ou Chun, foreseeing only too clearly the disasters which lay ahead, obtained a private audience with the Emperor and requested that authority be given to the Heir Apparent and that able ministers be selected to assist him. He recommended Yang I, denouncing Ting Wei and Ch'ien Wei-yen[131A] as treacherous. These proposals were sanctioned by Chên Tsung, and K'ou immediately requested Yang I to draft a memorial to the Heir Apparent urging him to assume imperial authority. News of this leaked out, however, and K'ou Chun was reduced to the rank of Grand Guardian[132] and replaced by Ting Wei who was largely responsible for K'ou's removal from office.

One of the palace eunuchs,[133] who had been implicated in the matter and feared the possible consequences of his actions, thereupon plotted to assassinate Ting Wei, divest the Empress of authority, send Chên Tsung into retirement,

place Jên Tsung on the throne and restore K'ou Chun to office. The loyalty of other eunuchs proved as vacillating as his own, and his plot was revealed to Ting Wei, with the result that the eunuch was decapitated, while K'ou Chun was again degraded and sent as prefect first to Hsiang-chou,[134] and subsequently to An-chou.[135] Within a month of his arrival there, he was transferred to Tao-chou.[136]

These removals were effected at the instigation of Ting Wei, who, to ensure that K'ou's influence should be reduced to a minimum, inserted the word "distant"[137] in the edict which banished K'ou to a provincial post. Chen Tsung was too sick to offer much resistance, and the remonstrances of other ministers were not sustained against the threats of Ting Wei.[138]

To prevent a repetition of this attempt to transfer authority to the Heir Apparent, an edict was issued commanding him to summon ministers to audience for the purpose of discussing the affairs of state; this was, however, no more than a formality, for the Empress Liu participated in the audiences and continued to exercise supreme authority.[139]

On 23rd March 1022 Chên Tsung died. As a last impotent gesture on behalf of the welfare of the state

he expressed a wish that K'ou Chun should be made a member of the Privy Council, but six days after the Emperor's death - and again at the instigation of Ting Wei - K'ou was moved yet farther afield to Lei-chou.[140] He died there in October of the following year, before an edict transferring him to Hêng-chou[141] could be put into effect.

Ting Wei's next manoeuvre was to insert the word "temporary"[142] in the edict left by Chên Tsung conferring on the Empress Liu the title of Empress Dowager[143] with supreme authority in all matters of state. His attempt to persuade her to move her quarters to another palace met with determined resistance, and a counter-proposal was adopted, namely that she and the Emperor Jên Tsung should hold joint audience once in five days, the Emperor being placed on the left, and the Empress on the right behind a screen, to announce decisions.

Unexpectedly, before this measure could be put into effect, another edict announced that ministers would be summoned to audience only for matters of extreme urgency, and that all other matters would be dealt with by the Empress. This decision was inspired by Ting Wei, who hoped by such means, and with the collaboration of the influential eunuch Lei Yün-kung,[144] to gather power into his own hands.[145]

Four months after he had removed K'ou Chun to Lei-chou, however, Ting himself met with an unexpected set-back. In July 1022, being accused with Lei Yün-kung of making an unauthorised alteration in the site of the imperial tombs at Shan-ling, he was degraded in rank and in August of the same year, after being found guilty of various seditious and unsavoury activities, he was dismissed to Yai-chou.[146]

The Empress Liu, no longer hampered by K'ou Chun's resistance and freed from the intrigues of Lei Yun-kung,[147] Ting Wei, Wang Ch'in-jo[148] and Ch'ien Wei-yen, was thus in a much stronger position. Her authority was not undisputed,[149] but the opposition of such men as Wang Ts'êng and Yen Shu[150] was countered by their dismissal from court. Younger men, Fan Chung-yen for example,[151] lacked the authority to make their admonitions effective.

The rising statesman of the day was Lü I-chien who, after the dismissal of Ting Wei, was given the office of Grand Secretary of the Imperial Chancellery. Relying on the reputation for ability, loyalty and honestly which had, quite justifiably, accrued to him during Chên Tsung's reign, Lü consolidated his position and awaited his opportunity, and seven years after Ting Wei's downfall in 1029, he was

given the appointment of Regulator of Affairs in the Departments of State,[152] and was working - at least in so far as it served his own ends - in close collaboration with the Empress Liu, who when Ou-yang Hsiu took up residence in the capital, was at the height of her power. She had usurped as many of the imperial prerogatives as she dared, and in state matters she hardly allowed even nominal authority to the young Jên Tsung.[153]

The reluctance of the Empress to permit Jên Tsung to rule was no doubt partly due to his dependence on those by whom he was surrounded, and she probably assumed that his immaturity and lack of judgment would be readily abused by them. Her suspicions were more than justified, for the possibility of establishing a unified policy for both internal and foreign affairs was speedily undermined by the activities at court of the conflicting parties which, in Jên Tsung's reign[154] wrested authority from each other no fewer than seventeen times in twenty years.[155] Behind the various differences of opinion, personal ill-will and hostility were frequently the driving power, while, conversely, political differences often developed into an outlet for personal enmity.

Ou-yang Hsiu, whose strict Confucian upbringing had fostered in him a lively appreciation of the importance of ethics in the sphere of politics, viewed the opportunism of self-seeking ministers with hearty disapproval, deploring the fact that the services of more disinterested persons were discarded.

> "I remarked," he wrote, "that although the Empire had been at peace for forty years scholars of exceptional sagacity and integrity were living in retirement with their talents unused. They might die in the seclusion of the mountains and no one would know of it."156

In particular, Hsiu regarded with apprehension the effect of the influence which Lü I-chien exercised over the young Emperor with whom, in theory at least, the ultimate responsibility for the appointment of ministers rested, and his comments on this matter are a fairly accurate forecast of the results which eventually accrued from the dangerous association of unscrupulousness with immaturity.

> "Of all the functions of a ruler," he wrote, "none is more difficult than the appointment of official personnel. The art of employing a minister consists in permitting him unrestricted authority in the carrying out of his responsibilities and in being consistent in the confidence placed in him. Only then can the talents of such a man be utilised to the full, so as to enable the ruler, in collaboration with him, to bring his undertakings to a successful conclusion."157

Hsiu saw clearly the abuses to which such a method was liable, and the fact that many of these obtained in his own time:

"As to the shortcomings to which this system is liable, they are these: desiring to allow a man unrestricted authority for the fulfillment of his responsibilities, the ruler is apt to neglect to consult others and to reject their advice. This results in the alienation of the sympathies of other ministers before the practicability of one man's policy can be tested to the full.

"Desiring to be consistent in placing confidence in a man, the ruler is apt to exercise discrimination and to insist that in all circumstances his policy be carried out. Thus, the ruler fails to exercise his judgment as to the permissibility or otherwise of affairs, or to calculate the possibility of success or failure in his undertakings. To act in opposition to the advice of the majority, to put plans into practice precipitately without exercising due discrimination and judgment results in a hundred attempts meeting with a hundred failure until all is involved in calamity and ruin."[158]

But however great might be the difficulty of selecting the right persons for official employment, it was as nothing compared with the difficulty of accepting advice. This did not lie, Hsiu held, in the fact that sophistry and partiality were often pleasing and the sincerity and unadorned simplicity of loyal counsel unpalatable, for in this case the outcome depended only on the perspicacity or lack of perception of the recipient.

"The real difficulty is that if advice is accepted as practicable it can, nevertheless, be misapplied in the conduct of human affairs, while, if it is rejected as impracticable, it may yet not be possible to achieve success by any other means."[159]

With the impulsive idealism which he never lost,

Hsiu "longed to go and seek out" the talented scholars who were living in retirement. "But," he sighed, when writing about it later, "I was unable to do so."[160]

He must have been encouraged to find among men of the younger generation companions whose outlook was similar to his own, both in politics and in literature. Among these Fan Chung-yen was in office in the capital until December 1029;[161] Hsieh Chiang was in office in the Board of Rites;[162] Su Shun-ch'in[163] who had been given a post in the Temple of the Ancestors,[164] by virtue of his father's rank, was preparing to sit for his chin shih degree. Although he was a year younger than Hsiu, he had already been active in the ku-wên movement for some time, under the leadership of Mu Hsiu.[165] With these three, and with Shih Yen-nien,[166] Hsiu remained on intimate terms all his life.

Shih Yen-nien was by temperament considerably less attuned to the times than was Ou-yang Hsiu who, for all his dissatisfaction with conditions at court and with contemporary literary trends and a tendency to be "easily moved to melancholy",[167] had an assurance of his own talent and a conviction of the superiority of Confucian ethics which Shih lacked. At the time when they met the latter's

reputation rested rather on eccentricity than on his scholarly abilities. These were by no means inconsiderable, however. He had studied extensively, was particularly skilled in the composition of the verse form known as shih,[168] and was a good calligrapher. Hsiu was quick to recognize his talent, and to sympathise with the unorthodox behaviour under which it was concealed. They spent much time in each other's company, composing poems, drinking, arguing and seeking among the older and retired scholars for men in whose knowledge and principles they could find fulfillment of their own youthful aspirations. It was in company with Shih Yen-nien that Hsiu made what may have been his first personal contacts with Buddhist scholars, of repute, among them Fi-yen[169] and Wei-yen,[170] who were much sought after by their eminent contemporaries, and who were both intimate friends of Shih.

Hsiu's attitude to Buddhism was, and remained throughout his life, one of uncompromising disapproval:

> "Buddhism," he wrote,[171] "has been the scourge of China for over a thousand years, and among the powerful men of the empire who have stood aloof and not been enticed by it, there is not one who would not like to see it abolished."

His objection to Buddhism was threefold, - ethical, nationalistic and politico-economic. As a Confucian he found its teachings contrary to the ethical principles propounded by the sages. Worse still, the laxity and immorality which were too often apparent among Buddhist monks infected the common people. Formerly affairs had been so ordered that when the people were not devoting their energies to the business of agriculture, they were perfecting themselves in the Rites and Music:

> "In their periods of relaxation, when they were not tilling the land, they were taught ceremonial ..... The ceremonies not only prevented disorder but also taught the people to recognise the distinctions between superiors and inferiors, old and young - all the fundamental human relationships..... Their feelings were given an outlet, but with restraint, so as to prevent them from committing excesses. But lest these measures might still not be sufficient, schools were also founded for their enlightenment..... The intelligent were selected from among the people to study therein, so that in talking with others they would instruct and influence the ignorant and the lazy.....
>
> "Thus, in the life of the people, such of their energies as were not spent in the fields were spent on activities such as ceremonies and music. When they were not at home they were in school. What they heard with their ears and saw with their eyes was nothing but kindness and righteousness, ceremonies and music, and these they enjoyed without any weariness..... But later all the instruments

> for teaching the people fell into disuse one after another. Thereafter those who practised evil had an excuse, while the good hoped in vain but never saw ceremonial or righteousness applied to themselves."[173]

Hsiu also objected to Buddhism on nationalistic grounds.[174] It was, he held, the religion of barbarians. It had gained a hold on the Chinese people during a period of political weakness, and advanced its own ends by encouraging the state of corruption which made its influence in China possible. To the gradual spreading of the pernicious doctrine of Buddhism he attributed not only contemporary evils but all the national humiliations and political disunity from which China had suffered since its introduction.[175]

Economically, also, the effect of Buddhism appeared to Hsiu to be disastrous. Jên Tsung had inherited a treasury seriously depleted by the costly peace with the Hsi-hsia and the Khitans,[176] and by the increased size of the standing army which the instability of the situation rendered necessary,[177] further embarrassed by the extravagances of Chên Tsung, and impoverished by floods, droughts and famine. Throughout the T'ien Shêng period[178] these were exceptionally severe. The government was compelled to furnish monetary relief in the distressed areas and supply the people with

grain and seed from the public granaries, which could not be replenished owing to crop failures. The expenses of burying the victims of these disasters was borne by the state, and the government was forced to draw upon the silk reserves in the imperial warehouses in order to make up the deficiency caused by the remission of taxes in the districts affected. Moreover, the number of salaried officials was increasing, as were the expenses of court ceremonial.[179]

In this unbalanced economy, Buddhism was an additional disruptive factor:

> "Formerly, when Yao and Shun and the Three Dynasties ruled, they instituted the system of dividing the land according to the character ching;[180] they took a census of the population of the whole empire and apportioned land to all according to the number of mouths (in each household). All, without exception, who were able to plough a piece of land plough it. A tithe was collected and a graded tax levied i order to spur on those who were not industrious, so that the man-power of the whole empire might be devoted entirely to the land and no time be left for anything else..... In the thousand years and more since then, the Buddhists who have come (to China) have become daily more numerous, while we hav become ever more degenerate in all our activities. First of all the system of the division of land according to the character ching was abandoned, and consequently the evils of annexing (other people's land) and of living in idleness came into being."[181]

Buddhist monks, who formed a non-tax-paying section o the community, were in fact to a large extent drawn from th

poorer classes, who left the land and entered monastries as a means of relief from economic pressure.[182] Their pilgrimages constituted a further drain on the productivity of the country. In early Sung times hundreds of Buddhists were still travelling to India by the overland routes, and this continued until the middle of the 11th century, when the roads were closed by the spread of Islam. There was, in addition, the unremunerative outlay required for the erection and maintenance of temples and shrines.

To Ou-yang Hsiu, as to his Confucian contemporaries, the only effective antidote to the existing moral, military and economic disorder was the restoration of Confucian ethics:

> "I say that the best thing to do is to overcome it (Buddhism) by promoting the fundamental doctrines ..... The ceremonies and righteousness are the fundamental doctrines by which Buddhism can be overcome."[183]

In this, however, as in other issues, the integrity of the Confucianists outstripped their vision. Their value as loyal ministers and talented scholars is justly rated high, but in the face of strong opposition, and with an outlook overweighted with conservatism, they failed to get to the root of the troubles by which their time was beset or to make an adequate response to the exigencies of what later became a desperate situation. It was not until

the emergence of Wang An-shih as a major figure in the field of politics, about the year 1068, that practical steps were taken in the direction of reconstruction and reform.

There is no doubt that these were some of the problems which occupied Hsiu's mind during his year as a student in the capital. In the autumn of 1029 when he sat for the passing-out examination from the Kuo Hsüeh, he too the opportunity to make outspoken comment on the shortcomings of an examination system which produced inept officials who paid no more than lip service to the ethical principles by which government should be motivated and, instead of devoting their energies to the welfare of the state, sought principally their own advancement.

> "At the present time," he wrote, "there are certain defects in the grading of candidates (for the chin-shih degree) and the worst of these is (the emphasis placed on) the ts'ê.
> The answers submitted are futile, empty compositions presenting irrelevant and commonplace opinions ..... The questions asked are trifling and beside the poin the answers argue round the subject and only serve the purpose of providing an answer to the question. They abandon what is radical and seek for the ends. They cast away what is real in order to secure an effect."184

When the results of this examination were announced, Hsiu's name was first on the list. In February of the

following year when he sat for the examination for the chin-shih degree[185] he was again posted first,[186] and in April 1030, at the Court Examination,[187] Hsiu was placed fourteenth in the first class.[188] In June he was posted to Lo-yang[189] as Magistrate to the Governor of the City.[190] Before going to Lo-yang to take up this appointment, Hsiu married the daughter of his patron, Hsü Yen. At the time of their marriage his wife was little more than fifteen years old. Nothing is known of her except that she was, Hsiu says, a virtuous woman who contented herself with her lot, marrying him in spite of his poverty, and serving her mother-in-law with great respect and filial piety.[191] They were married at Tung-wu[19] in January 1031 and two months later, accompanied by his mother and his wife, Ou-yang Hsiu arrived in Lo-yang.

CHAPTER II

FIRST YEARS IN OFFICE: LO-YANG

Hsiu's first years in office at Lo-yang were happy ones. He had acquitted himself well in the examinations, and at the age of twenty-seven was already enjoying some reputation as a poet, particularly in the writing of *tz'ŭ*.[1] His appointment enabled him to support his mother and his wife, at any rate to the extent of providing them with necessities. Little is known of this, his first marriage, but in spite of the fact that, like most Chinese marriages of the period, it was probably a business arrangement,[2] there seems no reason to doubt that it was a happy one, and that Hsiu was sincerely fond of his young wife.[3] Furthermore, if his rank was low this in itself carried many advantages, for his duties were slight and left him leisure to enjoy the magnificent mountain scenery around the city and to indulge in his many and varied interests.[4] He does not say what these were, merely remarking that in course of time he abandoned most of them: but the one "in which I exerted all my energy and could not stop"[5] which "the more I engaged in it, the more absorbing it became so that I could never tire of it"[6] was calligraphy. "Whenever I see a brush I must write"[7] he exclaimed, and

when he was surrounded by all the paraphernalia of the calligrapher, he felt that man's life was perfect happiness.[8]

It was at this time also that he began to develop in his own works the writing of ku-wên.[9] Literary style was a problem which exercised Hsiu and his colleagues a good deal at this time[10] but he himself was disinclined to discuss the matter, preferring to dilate upon political questions.

> "Ou-yang Hsiu" Su Tzŭ-jung[11] remarked "would not discuss writing, but delighted in talking about politics; Chün-mo[12] would not discuss politics, but delighted in talking about writing; neither boasted of that in which his real ability lay."[13]

Hsiu does not seem to have committed his political views to writing at this period, however, and the literary output of his first years in office at Lo-yang is almost entirely a personal record.

It is evident that Lo-yang delighted him. And well it might, for not only was it at this period the cultural centre of the empire, but, although it had lost much of its former splendour, it was still a city of considerable beauty.

The history of Lo-yang as a capital city goes back to the time of the foundation of the Chou[14] dynasty, when

Chou Kung[15] travelled round the region of the Lo[16] and I[17] rivers looking for a propitious site for the residence of the rulers of the new dynasty. He chose a spot north of the Lo, between two of its small tributaries,[18] and named it Wang Ch'êng,[19] the City of Kings. This site was used by successive rulers until B.C. 516, when Ching Wang[20] moved across the Ch'an River to the city of Ch'êng-chou[21] on account of the rebellion of Wang Tzŭ-ch'ao.[22] Ch'êng-chou was situated thirty li east of Wang Ch'êng and forms that part of Lo-yang now known as the Old City. In B.C. 314 under Nan Wang,[23] the capital was moved back to Wang Ch'êng.

During the Ch'in[24] and Han dynasties the capital was moved westwards[25] until after the defeat of Wang Mang[26] when the Eastern Han dynasty established its capital in Ch'êng-chou, naming it Lo-yang and changing the name Wang-ch'êng to Ho-nan.[27] During the Wei[28] dynasty Lo-yang became one of the five capitals established by the first Emperor Wên Ti,[29] Ho-nan being incorporated into it. This city was completely destroyed during the Yung Hsi[30] period of the Emperor Hsiao Wu Ti,[31] and a new one was built by Yang Ti[32] of Sui[33] in 605 A.D. on the site of the former city of Wang-ch'êng (Ho-nan), the name Lo-yang being transferred from Ch'êng-chou to the new city. (Ch'êng-chou fell into ruin and was never restored.) Lo-yang was the

"Eastern Capital" which the T'ang dynasty inherited from Sui and beautified with palaces, temples and gardens, and which the disorders of the late T'ang and Five Dynasties periods ravaged but did not entirely destroy.[34]

> "During the T'ang dynasty," says one chronicler, "between the Chêng Kuan[35] and K'ai Yüan[36] periods,[37] the dukes, nobles and members of the imperial family built over a thousand houses and mansions in the Eastern Capital. During the period of the collapse of the dynasty and under the tyranny of the Five Dynasties which followed the ponds and pools, the bamboos and trees, were trampled and despoiled by the soldiery and the war-chariots until they were turned into a waste of little mounds; the lofty trees and high pavilions were consumed by fire and reduced to ashes."[38]

Many of the parks that survived these disturbances were subsequently ploughed up and planted with mulberry trees and hemp.[39] Nevertheless Lo-yang, as Ou-yang Hsiu first knew it,[40] was still a city of gardens, with "a landscape of hills and woods, flowers and birds, in the heart of the city."[40A] The two rivers I and Lo flowed in from the east and south, and along the banks of the I most of the gardens and pavilions were situated. Here, in the spring and summer months, the wealthier members of the community would retire to pavilions built on islands in the lakes, or pitch tents by the water-side, to await the blossoming of the flowers and trees for which Lo-yang was famous. The gardeners of Lo-yang,

experimenting with trees and flowers, had produced many new varieties of peach, plum, and apricot, of lotus and chrysanthemum. Imported plants - purple orchids, jasmine, hortensias and "mountain tea" - also flourished. The peonies of Lo-yang in particular were unequalled throughout the empire. They were planted in profusion in all the parks, and in the garden of the Court of the King of Heaven they grew by the lake-side in thousands. Here, in the flowering season, musicians took up their pitch to entertain the people of the city, who "put out their fires" and flocked to the gardens to see the "king of flowers", in all its purple, white and crimson splendour.[41][42]

Although Hsiu passed four Springs in office at Lo-yang, he was never in the city while their peonies were at their best. "Nevertheless" he remarked "I have never seen anything to equal them."[43] An essay in which Hsiu describes the many varieties to be found in Lo-yang - (he himself noted thirty, while Ch'ien Wei-yen had recorded as many as ninety) - and gives the derivations of their names is one of the most attractive of his early writings.[44]

The flower-gardens, the imperial park to the west of the city, and the proximity of some of the most magnificent mountain scenery in China,[45] which all contributed to make

life in Lo-yang very agreeable, were rendered doubly delightful by the generous treatment which Hsiu received from his superior officer, who treated scholars in office under him with consideration, and did not burden them with the duties of clerks, and by the congenial company in which he found himself:

> "I was fortunate in gaining the companionship of worthies and elders, and with them composing poems and drinking wine."[46]

The governor of Lo-yang at this time was Ch'ien Wei-yen,[47] who with Yang I and Liu Yün, was one of the leaders of the Hsi K'un school of writers.[48] At Lo-yang Ch'ien had gathered round him in his office many of the outstanding scholars of the time and his staff had the reputation of being the best in the empire.[49] With one of its members, Hsieh Chiang, who had recently been moved to Lo-yang from the capital to take up the post of Administrato of Current Affairs,[50] Hsiu was already acquainted, but most of his other colleagues, though perhaps known to him by name,[51] he now met for the first time. Chang Yao-fu was the magistrate,[52] Chang Hsien the Administrator of Judiciary Affairs,[53] Chang Ying-chih[54] the Registrar,[55] Yang Tzŭ-ts'ung[56] the Advisor on Military Affairs.[57] Wang Fu[58] was also in Lo-yang at this time though he does

not seem to have been holding office. Two others of his colleagues in particular exercised a considerable influence on Hsiu's development as a writer.[59] These were Yin Chu[60] and Mei Yao-ch'ên.[61] In a number of short poems written at this time, and in obituary notices later, Hsui has left a record of himself and his impressions of his colleagues.[62]

The most reserved members of the group were the two Chang's, Yao-fu and Hsien, who enjoyed great respect. Yao-fu was a man of considerable erudition and a benign temperament -

> "like frost on the skin of the bamboo, attractive and gentle; limitless and profound as the jade-like sea."[63]

Tireless and diligent in the conduct of his duties, eloquent and deliberate in discussion, he remained tranquil and a little aloof, even when drunk.

> "Yao-fu's conversation was brief and pithy; he could drink all day without becoming bemused, and even in a state of intoxication he never lost control."[64]

The second Chang - Hsien - was of a different type:

> "Outwardly cheerful, but in private leading a rigorous life, in his dealings with people he appeared simple and gave no evidence of the astuteness of his mind. At the same time he was a man of great purpose and integrity, quick to make decisions. When he was at leisure, drinking, he would take off his cap and when he bent his head one could see that in spite of his youth he was whitehaired and going bald."[65]

From Hsiu's description the tall, stalwart Yin Chu emerges as a man of penetrating intelligence, a realist, and a man of action. He was like "a thorough-bred standing idle in the stable in the autumn, impatient to try its speed."[66] He liked to discuss matters of government, particularly military questions; and his opinions, which were always pertinent, were supported by a knowledge which ranged from remote antiquity to contemporary events.[67]

Yang Tzŭ-ts'ung, by contrast, was endowed with a slower and more expansive temperament, "like a river or a mountain." He was well-known for his prose writings, which were characterised by a detailed and comprehensive treatment of their subject and by the felicitous turns of phrase in which his opinions were expressed.[68]

Of Wang Fu, who had the attractive habit of riding around in a wagon drawn by a sheep, Hsiu remarked that he was a profound personality resembling the sage Yen Hui,[69] whose qualities he endeavoured to imitate.[70]

Beside the tall and handsome Mei Yao-ch'en, who was "like a lofty mountain of jade" and was the most accomplished scholar in Tung-nan, Hsiu confessed that he felt small and humble. Mei was kind-hearted and liberal and never perturbed by externals. Even when distressed by poverty

or stirred to anger, or when, on occasion, he was reviled or mocked, he would find an outlet for his feelings in verse,[71] so that the people of the city "held their noses"[72] in unsuccessful imitation of him.

Hsiu himself might well feel "small and humble."[73] Short,[74] with a slight stoop and weak eyesight,

> "ears that were whiter than his face and lips that did not meet over his teeth,"[75]

he could boast of little enough in the way of physical beauty. Nevertheless, he had many attractive qualities. He was young,[76] "with a stout heart and high ambition."

> "I was possessed of an essentially vigorous disposition."[77]

> "By nature impulsive, I was drawn into the circle of officialdom by circumstance. I am like a wine-skin which travels as the cart moves. Eminent contemporaries do not deign to look down to my level; with whom then, am I to converse? Fortunately the notables of Lo-yang daily afford me their company. I drink in their moral qualities as one who becomes intoxicated by fine wine; the essence of their personalities penetrates me like the fragrance of a spring orchid worn at the girdle. In leisure moments, when work is set aside, we find pleasure in exchanging writings and drinking wine."[79]

Whatever his judgment of himself, Hsiu's friends found him lovable and worthy of respect and the personality which emerges so vividly from his own writings is confirmed

by their evidence.[80] He quickly gained the affection and sympathy of those with whom he was in contact, and his loyalty to his friends was unfailing.[81] His whole career was characterized by an uncompromising integrity which remained unaffected by personal sorrow and official disgrace, and it was not long before he had ample experience of both.

Meanwhile, however, the record, though somewhat sparse, is a pleasurable one. In April 1032 he went with Mei Yao-ch'ên and Yang Tzŭ-ts'ung on a tour of Mount Sung.[82]

Mount Sung, the central and highest of the five Sacred Mountains of China, lies in Ho-nan, ten li[83] to the north of Têng-fêng Hsien.[84] "Sung Shan," says a Chinese geographer, "if separated would be many mountains; together it is Sung Shan."[85] The range is about a hundred and thirty li in circumference and the road winding to the summit of the middle peak is twenty li long. To the east lie the mountains of T'ai Shih[86] and to the west those of Shao Shih,[87] the two divided by a valley seventeen li wide. T'ai Shih is the higher and numbers twenty-six peaks, whose crests are covered with luxuriant vegetation. On the south side "its beauty is solid, wide and solemn." By its side stands Shao Shih, lower than T'ai Shih, but

majestically surrounded by thirty-six peaks.

> "The profile of the whole from the south is like a sleeping dragon."
>
> "The summits of the Sung group towards the centre, clustering like the blossoms of a flower. On the south face are many steep precipices, on the north lofty slopes, on the east broken ridges, and on the west many tiers of peaks."[88]

Eastwards of Sung Shan, some hundred and twenty li[89] distant, is the Dragon Gate, a deep canyon through which the I River runs north to join the Lo. Here, at the gateway to the pass, are the Pillars of I[90] - two mountains rising like gigantic columns on either side of the river. Temples have been hewn out of the rock, and along their inner walls and down the precipitous face of the cliff stand huge carved Buddhas. Many of these date from the early years of the 6th century; others were added in T'ang times.[91] Originally, it is said, there were eight temples, but Hsiu mentions only three in the poems which he wrote recording this journey. Both Hsiu and Mei Yao-Ch'ên have left their record of this journey in a series of poems:[92]

They went on horseback to the Kung-lu Ford[93] where

> "We urged our horses through the chilly stream .... Flowers were falling profusion on the grass, and on the stream the break of ripples traced the path

of fish. We watched the mirrored flight of birds, and lingered loath to leave the fragrant trees. The setting sun glowed bright on the surrounding peaks."[94]

Passing through the Pai-ma Ford[95] they came to the foot of T'ai Shih and Shao Shih:

"The lofty mountains towered face to face, their crowded peaks rising majestically through the floating clouds which followed as we moved up and down the mountain side along a path which curved like a green jade 'pi'.[96] In the spring dusk the cassias clustered thick, and as the sun sank low a light mist clung round the mountain side."[97]

The following day leaving their horses at the foot of the mountain, they began their long climb up the central peak of T'ai Shih:

"We tethered our horses in the shadow of the pines and took a path running by cliffs which soared up into the azure sky. Startled birds disturbed the flowers and trees, and the empty mountain sent back our words. Almost we felt we could grasp the rosy clouds, but our way led upwards through a clinging mist."[98]

At the Chün-chi Temple[99] high on the middle peak of T'ai Shih

"The glint of blue came through thick scattered clouds which as they rose left the layers of rock gleaming wet. There was a cold wind blowing among the aged trees, and we lingered ..... heads bowed in meditation, listening to the hum of the cicada."[100]

On the peak itself

> "the eye could not fathom the boundless distance; ..... The path coiling like a snake emerged at the edge of a forest overlooking a thousand peaks below the clouds. The mist was shot through with light as the sinking sun touched the summits."[101]

Before clambering up to the Gate of Heaven,[102] they went at night to look for the Fairy Window.[103] It proved less attractive than it sounded:

> "One cannot meet the Jade Fairy" commented Hsiu. "The sullen crags rear into the boundless height. Stalactites drip into empty channels and overhead the eye is lost in fathomless obscurity and green shade. It is difficult to linger long here, even though the cassia trees are touched with spring."[104]

Hurrying from this dark spot they followed the winding path until

> "the twin peaks suddenly divided, and in the yawning chasm chequered with bright and dark, cloud and vapour mingle over the rushing torrent. Standing among the pines and the twining plants it seemed that one could stretch out a hand and lift oneself up to the River of Heaven."[105]

The following morning

> "a rosy mist covered the gorge at the Gate of Heaven; a sparkling stream gushed out from the rock and drenching clouds and white mist drifted coldly among the rocks and the luxuriant growth of trees."[106]

At night they climbed to the Pool of Heaven where,

> "if you crouch and look you can see nothing,

for the divine dragon is on guard below,"

and sitting on the rock they listened to

"the chill music of heaven."[107]

How long Hsiu remained away from Lo-yang on this occasion is uncertain, but it was probably not more than a few days. The first mention of his official duties occurs in the late spring of 1031 when, with Ch'ien Wei-yen,[108] he officiated at the Shrine of the Nine Dragons, and offered prayers for rain.

Drought was a prominent and disastrous characteristic of the region of Lo-yang, where the exceptional fertility of the loess-covered land was more than counteracted by the late and scanty rainfall and the dust storms which continued from late autumn to early spring. Normal agriculture was often impossible in many districts. The rains when they came carved deep gullies in the fine silt and cascaded down the hillsides, flooding the valleys and destroying such sparse crops as had been raised. Livestock and dwellings were carried away, and the destruction of property was frequently accompanied by heavy loss of human life. When the floods subsided, bereaved and homeless families were left to face the horrors of famine.[h]

Seed and supplies were issued from the public granaries

but often only as a last resort, since the conditions which caused the hardships of the people also made it impossible to replenish the granaries once they were emptied. Cash grants were given to families in which lives or property had been lost, funeral expenses were borne by the state and, in theory at least, taxes were remitted either in whole or in part.[109]

The administration of these relief measures was in the hands of local officials who were held responsible for any disorders and who were frequently rather jealous of their own reputations than solicitous for the welfare of the people.[110] A letter from Hsiu to a certain Mr. Wang, indicates that the relief measures recorded in the official histories were less effective in fact than they appear on paper. The reluctance of the officials to apply these measures may in part have been caused by the fact that on occasion the peasants took advantage of a partial destruction of crops to demand cancellation of taxes, with the result that in cases of genuine hardship complaints were apt to be overruled, and local officials were instructed to enforce the land-tax laws. The official histories are silent on the subject of the reactions of the peasantry to the hardships caused by injustice of this kind, but Hsiu

records in this letter one case in which they rose against it, and this was probably not an isolated instance.

> ".....In the autumn....." he wrote "when the taxes were due, the land laws were invoked and the local officials were bound over to see that they were duly enforced. All of them, far and near, were jealous of their own reputations and hated to hear the people complain of flood or drought; they therefore coerced them into silence, the worst of them subjecting the peasants to the punishment of flogging for daring to complain. Thereupon the people in the metropolitan area laid their grievances before the officials of the local hsien, but these did not heed them. They then approached the officials of K'ai-fêng but no notice was taken. In desperation they marched in a body to the Hsüan-tê Gate of K'ai-fêng, and there demanded the attention of the ministers of state. As a result, officials were despatched all over the country to make an inspection. When they returned seven or eight out of every ten reported that the people were in fact not suffering any hardship; but the last official to return maintained that they were indeed hard-pressed, but that the local officials, standing in awe of the injunctions of the Court, had failed to report the facts."[111]

Even where officials regarded the sufferings of the peasants with a more humane eye the government's lack of initiative in taking preventive measures such as reafforestation, systematic irrigation and drainage, and the construction of effective dykes left them with little recourse but to pray that calamity might be averted. The officials, no less than the people, must have been greatly relieved

when their prayers elicited a response and they heard the welcome sound of water gurgling along the parched ditches.

During the hot summer months Hsiu seems to have been among those who were fortunate enough to escape for a while to the coolness and seclusion of the mountains, where he stayed in the Temple of Universal Brightness.[112] At this time the Municipal Offices at Lo-yang were being rebuilt.[113] The buildings were laid out on the west side of the city, on a site much larger than that of the former offices. Work was completed in the summer, and Hsiu planned a little pavilion for himself on the west side of the new buildings, presumably regarding the requisitioning of the necessary materials as a legitimate perquisite of office! One window faced north and outside this he planted a little thicket of bamboos; the other window opened to the south and "let in the light of sun and moon." It was furnished with a couch and a considerabl collection of books and here, morning and evening, he enjoyed solitude and tranquillity.

> "I would close my eyes and quieten my heart, reflecting on the present and gaining enlightenment from the past; there was nothing which I did not think over or consider.

> "When men are not confused and agitated by outward things their hearts are tranquil; when their hearts are tranquil their judgment is unimpaired, and they are able infallibly to approve what is praiseworthy and condemn what is culpable. Approval of what is praiseworthy can come near to flattery; condemnation of what is culpable can come near to slander. If ever I am so unfortunate as to commit an offence, I would prefer slander to flattery."

And he named his pavilion "The Pavilion of the Condemnation of Wrong."[114]

In October 1031 Hsiu and his colleagues again went up into the mountains. Hsieh Chiang had been commissioned to conduct a sacrificial ceremony at Mount Sung, Yang Tzŭ-ts'ung and Ou-yang Hsiu dividing between them the duty of assisting him in burning incense and reciting prayers for the dead. Yin Chu and Wang Fu had just returned to Lo-yang from Hou-shih, where, presumably, they had been on official business, and Hsieh suggested that they should take the opportunity of enjoying a holiday together among the mountains and rivers.[115] This time Mei Yao Ch'ên was unable to go with them, as he had been ordered to Ho-yang "on account of personal enmity."[116] A farewell party was held for him, however,[116A] at the Temple of Universal Brightness and shortly afterwards, with Hsieh Chiang, Wang Fu, Yin Chu and Yang Tzŭ-ts'ung, Hsiu left Lo-yang at dawn by the

Chien-ch'un Gate.[117] After spending the night eighteen li up river, they went on through Hou-shih climbing Hou Ling,[118] and making their way to Têng-fêng which they left by the northern gate for Mount Sung. They spent the night at the temple, and rose early the next morning to conduct the ceremony, officiating in full ceremonial robes. Their official duties ended, the party made for the central courtyard of the monastery situated some way up the mountain-side, and removing their official regalia, reduced their escort to a minimum and set off.

> "The weather was ideal - pale, clear sunlight, and the air not yet too chill..... We were all full of vigour and had, in addition, the opportunity to enjoy companionship and leisure to gossip. Whenever we came upon a rugged rock we would clamber up on to it, and whenever we saw an aged tree we took rest beneath it, drinking wine or sipping tea. When the road was level we advanced easily; when it was steep, we clambered up with difficulty.
>
> "We wandered, exploring and enjoying the seclusion. Lost in admiration of the fragrant grasses edging a torrent, we suddenly found ourselves confronted with the wide opening of a cave. At the end of the forest we had already lost the way, and had only the chanting of the woodcutters to guide us."[119]

At one point in their journey, after climbing the eastern peak and covering much of the ground Hsiu had covered previously, they decided to seek out a Buddhist priest who was living in seclusion on the mountain and

was said to be well versed in Buddhist scriptures. Hsiu objected strenuously asserting that Mei Yao-ch'ên had once remarked that one should not demean oneself by visiting persons so lowly.[120] That Hsiu was not willing to listen to Buddhist doctrines was perhaps not surprising, but the hint of superiority is a trait not often to be found in Hsiu's writings. Hsieh, however, urged the visit and Hsiu's objections were overruled. They found the recluse living in a cave three or four li farther down the mountain-side, and spent some time arguing with him as to the truth of the Buddhist scriptures.

Yin chu and Ou-yang Hsiu in spite of their staunch advocacy of Confucian principles and their disparagement of heresy found themselves moved by the monk's arguments. Hsiu was forced to withdraw his objection, and agreed in deploring that Mei had "listened to error and forfeited the truth."[121]

That evening they stayed on the mountain peak. The sky was clear, with no mist and ten thousand li were spread before their eyes.[122] A brilliant moon silvered the massed tops of the pines below, and the crowded peaks were awash in a sea of shimmering light. Through the vast

silence, the echo of the monastery bell mingled with the lap and fall of water.[123] As the night advanced the cold so penetrated their bones that they were forced to take shelter and sat circled round a lamp, their heads bare and tied in a kerchief and their girdles loosened, eating, drinking and composing poems until physical discomfort was dispelled and care forgotten.[124] Making their way slowly back through Têng-fêng, which they left by the East Gate on the fifteenth day of their journey, they took the road to Ying-yang.[125] T'ai Shih lay behind them, and Shao Shih, with its diadem of glittering peaks, spread about them in a beauty which they could not sufficiently admire.[126]

Seventy li farther on they passed through Ying-yang and on the following night travelled some twenty-five li in the rain before putting up at an inn.

> "When we became weary of riding Yin Chu told strange stories, Ou-yang Hsiu and Yang Tzŭ-ts'ung sang folk-songs, and Wang Fu played on the bamboo pipe, and so we forgot the length of the road."[127]

On the seventeenth day, when they came within sight of Lo-yang again, there was a light fall of snow. Through the mist they saw a rider crossing the River I. It proved to be a messenger from Chien Wei-yen, bringing

them gifts of food and urging them to stay and enjoy the snow.[128] The following day they reached home having travelled some four hundred li over mountainous roads, and leaving behind them a record of their journey, - as Hsieh Chiang records[129] - in a dozen or more inscriptions on rocks, walls and trees.

Shortly after his return to Lo-yang, Hsiu was sent to officiate at another ceremony to pray for rain and for relief from a plague of locusts. Such plagues frequently occurred in times of drought and their ravages were by no means confined to the countryside. On occasion the locusts swarmed in over the city walls and choked up wells and sewers.[130]

In clement years Hou-shih was a lovely spot, surrounded by mountains and rivers, with thatched houses clustering round a courier-station to the west of the foot of Hou-ling.

> "Green bamboos grow thick round the streams. In the fields people are gleaning, and tilling the patches of land between the mulberry trees. At night a light mist rises from the surface of the water, and a brilliant moon lights up the thatched roofs. By day the plain was vivid with autumn colours. I should like to settle down here in seclusion," wrote Hsiu, "the place attracts me."[130A]

But now it was indeed a desolate sight - - -

"In the morning we pray to the spirit of the Dragon for rain, and in the evening we light fires in the fields to drive off the locusts."[131]

The leaves were stripped from the trees, the grass withered and yellow. Crows sat cawing on the ramparts of the city and hungry sparrows flocked round the empty granaries. The weather was cold and misty at night, with a sharp frost in the early morning; the mud walls of the houses were parched and cracked, and the peasants were vainly endeavouring to stop up the gaps to protect themselves from the coming winter. At night the sound of the fires hissed and crackled through the silence.[132]

Apart from such slight indications as these, from his own writings, there is no record of Hsiu's official duties during his first two years in office. It seems that he probably did a certain amount of private coaching for prospective chin shih[133] candidates, as he mentions two sons of Wang Chi[134] as being his pupils. On the whole, however, he seems to have had few responsibilities and a considerable amount of leisure. His third and final year in Lo-yang brought little but sorrow and disappointment. In February 1033, he was sent to K'ai-fêng on official business. He left home reluctantly, for his wife was expecting a child. He returned in April, breaking his

journey at Han-tung to visit his uncle, Yeh,[135] and arrived at Lo-yang to find that his wife had died, less than a month after giving birth to a son. She was only seventeen years old.

Hsiu was desolate.

> "I remember that when I rode away the east wind was blowing along the willow-lined road ..... When I returned the blossoms of the peach and plum had fallen, and I was not able to enjoy the fading flowers even for one day.[136] Then the wind from the east came with a sound of lamentation; there was no sign of spring by the lakes of Lo-yang, and the wind rustled sadly through the white poplar trees. The yellow peony of Yao and the purple flower of Wei[137] had blossomed yet again, and regret that they had faded was added to my grief."[138]

> "..... Even the temporary partings of a man's life ... cause him to weep for sorrow; how much the more when the separation is eternal!"[139]

Hsiu's natural tendency to melancholy increased his grief. He nursed his sorrow in seclusion, sitting restless[140] in the empty room by the light of the lamp.

> "The carriages and horses are all blocking up the roads, and yet I do not leave the house. I ever have grief as my companion; for brilliance and splendour are out of tune with this season, and desolation and loneliness must console each other.."[14

> ".....Alas! Men cherish long life, but life cannot last; and for death what remedy is there? The dead cannot return, and our only resource is to weep. But I have a sickness in my throat which will not let me weep. How much the more do I desire another outlet for my sorrow! And since I

> cannot adequately voice my grief I can do nothing but swallow my misery and sing a melancholy song; but before it is completed the sound is choked by the bitter tears which flow down my cheeks like rain..... I can see you only in dreams, yet I sleep little and lie long awake; and I sleep ten times and see you but once. Then it is as though you were, and were not; you seem to depart, and yet you stay; and when you seem near, yet are you far away."[142]

Small wonder that Hsiu became "haggard from grief,"[143] that his hair turned white and he became lean and ill.[144] In July, before he had recovered from the shock of his wife's death, another blow fell. Chang Yao-fu died suddenly after an illness lasting only two days. He was buried a month later, Hsiu and his colleagues mourning him "with bitter weeping."[145]

After a listless and uneasy summer - "I am become as soft as suet,"[146] he complained - Hsiu was sent in October to Kung Hsien to participate in the sacrificial ceremony for the interrment of the Empress Liu and the Lady Li, Jên Tsung's mother, who had died within a few days of each other.[147] It was not a ceremony calculated to raise his spirits. "The melancholy echo of the ceremonial flutes" followed him across the river Lo in the chilly darkness[148] and he could not shake off his despondency.

"Sorrow piles up in my breast like a mountain, and although I desire to drink it away, it is of no more use than pouring water on to scorched earth."[149]

He mused upon the Buddhist theories of life and death but rejected them.[150] Drifting on the Yellow River, which he now saw for the first time, he drew consolation from the music of the ch'in, which he had recently learned to play.[151] A new pastime and fresh scenes had their effect:-

"The water of the river is deep and soundless: there are clouds reflected in it and the night is overcast. Clasping my ch'in, I sit in the boat, thrumming. The sleeping birds in the forest are startled, and the wandering fish leap and jump. The mountain wind increases the chill. In this silent region, hearing becomes more true, and before the string ceases to vibrate the heart fills with peace."[152]

The immensity of the Yellow River amazed him.

"I rode through Jên-ts'un along the river bank, and ascended to a height to watch the water flowing. It swirled in a rushing torrent, as though in fury. I have always lived[153] in the south and knew the majesty of this river only by hearsay. I drew reign for a while to gaze around. The boundless waters spread before my astonished eyes ..... the curving of the mountains and the hills following the windings of the river."[154]

This was the river which

"..... rose in flood, wide, deep and irresistible. The people, terrified, fled before it as though in fear of the sword. Uncle River saw them and thought it play. With the sound of hideous laughter its vicious mouth stood open like a gaping door."[155]

On his way back to Lo-yang, Hsiu visited his childhood friend, Li Yao, at Han-tung. They had not met for many years. Yao had obtained his hsiu-ts'ai degree and married, and had a son the same age as Hsiu's own. The familiar surroundings "brought back childhood as though it had been yesterday," and Hsiu left reluctantly, "with a heavy heart, not knowing how many years it would be before we should meet again."[156]

Shortly after Hsiu's return, Ch'ien Wei-yen was dismissed and sent to Han-tung.[157] Ever since his appointment to Lo-yang he had seized every opportunity of returning to Court hoping, on one pretext or another, to grasp the prize for which his fingers had itched so long - the chancellorship. In the spring of 1032, when the Emperor carried out the ritual spring ploughing, Ch'ien succeeded in obtaining a post at Court.

After the death of the Empress in October 1033, he was ordered to return to Lo-yang. But he was unable to settle there, and hoping to find favour with the Emperor, he memorialised the throne suggesting that the tablets of the Empress Liu and the Lady Li should both be placed beside that of the Emperor Chên Tsung in the Temple of the Imperial Ancestors. Moreover, having already allied

himself by marriage to the families of the late Empress Liu and the Empress Kuo, he now endeavoured to form a marriage relationship with the family of the late Lady Li.

The President of the Censorate,[158] Fan Yung, promptly put a stop to these intrigues by impeaching Ch'ien for having overstepped his authority in offering advice on the subject of the imperial tombs, and Ch'ien was degraded in rank, and sent to Han-tung as Superintendent of Military Affairs[159] of Ch'ung-hsin Chün.[160] Ou-yang Hsiu, Hsieh Chiang and Yin Chu saw him off, parting from him with great regret.[161] His successor, Wang Shu,[161A] was by comparison a tyrant. He disapproved, probably not without reason, of the frequent leave of absence granted by Ch'ien to his staff and made determined efforts to arouse in them a proper sense of duty. Nevertheless, his "tendency to nag" was counterbalanced by his readiness to recognize and encourage talent, and many younger men, including Hsiu himself, gained their first foothold at Court through his recommendation.

Hsieh Chiang and Yin Chu both left for the capital in November or December of this year, the former to become Administrator of Current Affairs at K'ai-fêng,[162] the latter

to take up office as a Collator of Texts in the Imperial Library.[163] Yang Tzŭ-ts'ung, who had previously been recommended at Court by Ch'ien Wei-yen was appointed to a post in the Board of Civil Office.[164]

For the next three months Hsiu was left in Lo-yang alone. His own tenure of office came to an end in March 1034 when he left Lo-yang for Hsiang-ch'êng,[165] to spend two months with his sister and her husband before going on to the capital.

CHAPTER III

SECOND PERIOD IN OFFICE: K'AI-FÊNG

In May or June of 1034 Ou-yang Hsiu left Hsiang-ch'eng and went to the capital, K'ai-fêng, where he set up house with his mother and his baby son. A months later,[1] after being examined at the Hsüeh Shih Yüan, he was appointed Collator of Texts in the Imperial Library. His sponsor, Wang Shu, had been appointed to the Chief Military Executive some time previously. Fan Chung-yen was holding office as Advisor,[2] while Hsieh Chiang,[3] Yin Chu, Yang Tzŭ-ts'ung and Su Shun-chin[4] were also in the capital.

Nevertheless, although Hsiu was not alone, there were fewer opportunities than hitherto for carefree association with his former companions. Yin Chu and his brother, Yin Yüan, he saw occasionally and with them he could talk freely, but he missed the companionship of Mei Yao-ch'ên, whose letters came seldom and were so brief that Hsiu could not tell what his friend was feeling, and had to enquire from the umbrella dealer by whose boat letters sometimes arrived how he was situated.[5]

His poverty too, irked him.

"For the past year nothing has been satisfactory,

> except that I have not actually been ill. ..... I am staying in the capital to serve my mother, but I am short of clothes and food. I like to drink but I have no money, and I am very down at heart. ..... The office of Collator is not a good one. Those intellectuals who hold it regard it only as a means of promotion. But I am out of touch with the world and am unable to do those things which the wealthy can do. All I can do is to use my leisure to divert myself - but things being as they are, how can I find the means for such diversion?"[6]

Fortune certainly seemed to be against him. In the same year he lost two men who had given him their assistance: Ch'ien Wei-yen[7] died in August at the age of 72, and in the following month Wang Shu[8] died also.

In November Hsiu remarried. His second wife was the daughter of the former Grand Advisor, Yang Ta-ya,[8A] who had died in the previous year.[8B] She was eighteen years old,

> "filial to her mother-in-law, a friend to her husband, right-principled and docile."[9]

Hsiu's happiness was shortlived. In the winter of 1034 Hsieh Chiang[10] left the capital, and with each loss Hsiu's spirits reached a lower ebb. "I am always in straitened circumstances and in sorrow" he wrote.[11] And well might he complain! In August, 1035, his sister's husband died, and Hsiu hurried off to Hsiang-ch'êng to visit her, subsequently bringing her back to the capital with him, together with her young child. At the begin-

ning of October, after only ten months of married life, his second wife died and his own health gave way:

> "My heart mourns, I look old, and fear men's questionings."[12]

He grew so thin that his bones showed through his skin "as clear as ice."[12] He moved his home and here stayed despondently indoors:

> "None came to see me. When I went out alone I forced myself to sing, but before I could finish the song tears poured down my cheeks. ..... Alas, for the bright moon and the wind of spring, - every year things change."[12A]

A visit from Chang Ying-chih from Lo-yang at the end of this year seems to have been the only thing which relieved the monotony of his misfortunes, and as though in retribution for this small consolation, a crowning blow fell a few months later: in June 1036 he was dismissed. This dismissal was due to interference in political matters, and not to incompetence in the conduct of his official duties, about which very few details are available. It is, however, known that about a month after he took up office (July-August 1034) he was one of the officials selected to take part in editing and restoring the books in the Imperial Library and in the subsequent compilation of a catalogue[13] - a task which his dismissal interrupted.

of Sung Ch'i and Fan Chung-yen.[16] The advantages of the dismissal of such men as Hsia Sung, Ch'ên Yao-tso, Fan Yung and Yen Shu on the grounds that they were nominees of the late Empress were, on the other hand, questionable.

Lü I-chien, who had hoped to take full advantage of this reorganisation of the official hierarchy to advance his own interests and establish his supporters more firmly at Court, found himself to his dismayed surprise among the ranks of those who were deprived of office. After the death of the Empress he submitted a memorial dealing with matters of state.[17]

The stringent wording of this memorial produced what was no doubt the desired effect. Jên Tsung took council with Lü I-chien, and the dismissal of the officials mentioned above was the result. On this occasion, however, Lü overreached himself. After his consultation with the Emperor, he went straight to the Empress Kuo[18] to inform her of the development of events, whereupon she remarked tartly,

> "And did not you yourself exclusively follow the Empress? It is rather that you are full of cunning and an adept opportunist."[18A]

The following morning, standing among the ministers in

audience, Lü heard himself banished to Ch'ên-chou.[19] This was no more than a temporary set-back, however, for within six months he had regained his position as Chancellor.[20] His return to authority was the starting-point of a series of clashes between himself and Fan Chung-yen which became particularly acrimonious later over the question of succession, when Jên Tsung died without heir, and to which the rise of the two main political parties of the period is directly traceable. The one, conservative in policy, had as its representatives such men as Han Chi,[21] Ssŭ-ma Kuang,[22] the three Su's,[22A] Fan Chung-yen, and Ou-yang Hsiu himself, all men of considerable intellectual capacity, but, at times, of rather less political acumen. The other, headed by Lü I-chien, culminated later in the radical reforms of Wang An-shih,[23] who himself entered public office under the auspices of the conservative party and with the patronage of Ou-yang Hsiu.[24]

The antagonism between Fan Chung-yen and Lü I-chien found its first outlet in the enforced abdication of the Empress Kuo in January 1034. Two of the imperial concubines, the Ladies Yang and Shang, were at this time in favour with Jên Tsung. Both sought to gain supremacy

over the Empress who, goaded beyond endurance by the impertinences of the Lady Shang, slapped her face in the presence of the Emperor. When the latter intervened, the Empress was so unfortunate as to scratch the imperial neck. A creature of Lü I-chien's, the eunuch Yen Wên-ying,[25] took advantage of this situation to advise the removal of the Empress. Jên Tsung consulted Lü I-chien who, having previously discovered through the agency of Yen that the Empress Kuo had been responsible for his dismissal, was only too ready to translate such a plan into action. Accordingly it was announced that since the Empress had failed to produce a son she had expressed a wish to retire from public life.[26]

An indignant protest was immediately registered by Fan Chung-yen, who presented a memorial pointing out the impropriety of deposing the Empress and urging that it was imperative that discussion of the matter should cease forthwith, lest it should come to the ears of the people outside the Court. Lü I-chien saw to it that this memorial failed to reach the Emperor, whereupon Fan Chung-yen and K'ung Tao-pu,[27] at the head of eight other officials,[28] prostrated themselves at the gates of

the palace and demanded audience to discuss the matter. The door was closed in their faces. They went to the Grand Secretariat, only to be met by the suave arguments of Lü I-chien, who had already memorialised the throne to the effect that the action of these officials in demanding audience in such a manner constituted a breach of the peace. The following day Fan Chung-yen was dismissed to Mu-chou[29] and K'ung Tao-pu to T'ai-chou,[30] the others being heavily fined. In addition, an edict was issued prohibiting deputations of officials from seeking audience.

Opinion seems to have been in favour of the dismissed officials, and although immediate representations made for their return were fruitless,[31] Fan Chung-Yen was recalled in March 1035 and given office in the Board of Rites.[32] K'ung Tao-pu remained in the provinces for some time, but was later given a post in the court of Rites[33] and then appointed Grand Secretary of the Imperial Chancellery.[34]

In January 1036, Fan Chung-yen was promoted to Second-class Secretary to the Board of Civil Office[35] and made temporary governor of K'ai-fêng.

One source attributes this appointment to Lü I-chien.[36] On his return to Court Fan became ever more outspoken in his criticism of government administration, making life extremely uncomfortable for Lü, who was concerned to remove so pugnacious an opponent at the earliest possible moment. He therefore privately sent one of his underlings to represent to Fan that his office was a non-advisory one. Fan retorted that the function of an assistant to an Advisor was precisely to hold and express honest opinions. Lü I-chien, finding that Fan was not to be corrupted, then engineered his appointment to the governorship of Kai-feng (a non-advisory post) in the hope that since he was not to be silenced, he might be trapped into some indiscretion which would result in his dismissal.[37] Lü's anxiety was by no means unjustified. With Fan's return to Court the tussle recommenced. Lü was filling Court posts with his own hangers-on, and Fan memorialised the throne against this procedure, defining the duties and conduct proper to the various officials and listing those who as followers of Lü I-chien had been improperly appointed or promoted.[38] Lü I-chien was unable to make a suitable retort, but the matter rankled, and he seized every opportunity to ferment trouble.

In May 1036,[39] there were rumours of a Khitan attack and the question of the location and fortification of the main capital was discussed. Fan Chung-yen advised that since Lo-yang was a well-fortified city, and K'ai-fêng a place upon which battles could be levied from all sides, the proper course was to reside in K'ai-fêng in times of peace, but that if war should threaten the Imperial residence should be moved to Lo-yang. Accordingly, he considered that stacks of foodstuffs and other materials should be accumulated at Lo-yang and the imperial palaces put in a suitable state of repair.

As Wang Chin-jo had made the peace treaty with the Khitans an excuse for disposing of K'ou Chun[40] so now Lü I-chien took advantage of the tension created by the possibility of war against them to oust Fan Chung-yen condemning Fan's advice as bigotry and self-seeking. Fan made a spirited retaliation and submitted four treatises to the throne,[41] in which he made acid criticisms of the administration in general and the subversive conduct of Lü I-chien in particular, saying,

> "There are those who are by nature truly loyal and filial, and these are the superior men: there are those who conduct themselves according to the principles of loyalty and filial piety, and these rank next: there are those

who make use of a semblance of loyalty and piety for the sake of gaining a reputation, and these rank next: but when it comes to those who belittle the sages and submit to power, who turn their backs on the Way, abandon virtue, murder their fathers and revolt against their rulers, acting only in accordance with their own desire and no longer caring even for their own good name, then these are the lowest.

"When a man is no longer solicitous for his reputation, then although there are penal laws and instruments of punishment, not even these can deter him from evil." 42

Writing of the methods of selecting and employing ministers, Fan said:

"First appointments are made by means of selection according to capacity; next appointments are made out of consideration for the public weal. Thus, an official is entrusted with the office of a minister but not invested with the power of the sovereign.

"I would like to elucidate this matter further:

"To supervise ceremonial and to handle well the administration of government, to apply the law with impartiality and moderation, to regulate customs, to rear the people within and control the barbarians without the frontiers; to serve as a model for the hundred officials and to deal competently with the hundred affairs; all these are the duties of a Prime Minister.

"To train the troops to guard the city wall, to develop military strategy, to over-awe the barbarian tribes; all these are the duties of a general.

"To adjust Court etiquette and to correct the errors of the red-sashed officials; these are the duties of a censor.

"To order the complex municipal affairs and to check unruly elements, these are the duties of a mayor.

"When it comes to financial matters, grain supplies and penal laws, each of these is governed by special office.

"To pacify the people, to encourage public morality, to level the obligations of service and to equalize the taxes, these are the duties of a prefect.[42]

"These are all duties proper to the various officials, and it is essential that they should be so delegated. But as for distinguishing good from bad, promoting and degrading of those in the imperial service and grasping the power to raise or to abase and to control the fate of men of outstanding merit, these are the prerogatives of the sovereign and should not be vested in inferiors."[43]

Fan's comments on the delegation of authority to ministers by the sovereign bear a strong resemblance to those expressed by Ou-yang Hsiu[44] and there can be very little doubt that Hsiu's opinions on this matter were greatly influenced by those of his older contemporary.

"If, when promotions and appointments are being made, ten men are recommended and the Emperor approves nine of them, then nine-tenths of the imperial favour will emanate from inferiors. When this occurs, then within the space of a few years court officials, high and low will all form cabals round those in authority.

"If sentence of banishment is passed on ten men, and the Emperor approves nine of them, then ninety per cent. of the imperial authority will emanate from an inferior. Thus, within the

> space of a few years, at Court and in the provinces, among those surrounding the Emperor and those remote from him, none will dare to oppose the powerful minister, so that the wishes of the people will not be fulfilled and the authority of the Emperor will be isolated."45

Nor was Fan satisfied with merely exposing the malpractices of Lü I-chien; he addressed an outspoken warning to Jên Tsung himself:

> "If Your Majesty does nothing but indulge in idleness and pleasure, giving little heed to the selection of wise ministers, then when you have to make an appointment you will have no wise man to employ and the power of promotion and degradation, as well as that of reward and punishment, will pass into the hands of the ministers. Then although there will be rank and salary, these will not suffice to express the magnanimity of the Emperor; and although there will be execution and punishment, these will not suffice to uphold the prestige of the sovereign."46

Lü infuriated, impeached Fan for overstepping his authority in discussing matters of state and of giving rise to cabals, which he utilised to cause dissension between the Emperor and his ministers. Fan's reply was even more acrimonious[47] and his attack drew from Lü the accusation that his opponent was guilty of lampooning high-ranking ministers,[48] an offence which was apparently held to be even more serious, for it was on this count that on June 5th, 1036, Fan was dismissed and sent to

Jao-chou as prefect.[48A] An order was subsequently posted at Court forbidding the formation of cabals and citing the case of Fan Chung-yen as an example.[49]

The dismissal of Fan Chung-yen in 1036 was a significant event not only in his own career, but also in that of Ou-yang Hsiu. All his life Hsiu was an active supporter of the principle of freedom of speech for those officials who were - theoretically - employed for the specific purpose of offering advice and criticism, but whose activities - in practice - were frequently inhibited by fear of the consequences of offending those for the time being in power.

Even during his tenure of office in Lo-yang, Hsiu was interested in the possibilities of an advisory post, both as a means of advancement and as an opportunity of translating his principles into action. In March 1033 when Fan Chung-yen had been recalled to Court and given the appointment of Advisor[50] Hsiu wrote to him on this subject,

> "The office of Advisor" he said "is only of the seventh grade, and it cannot be a source of any particular gratification to you to be appointed to it. The sole reason for my wishing to congratulate you is that I sincerely believe that the welfare of the empire and the influence of contemporary public opinion are bound up with the functions of such an advisory office. ....

> As to the losses and gains of the empire, the well-being of the people and the major plans of the state only the Grand Minister may act and only the Advisory official may advise according to what he sees and hears without being restricted by the functions pertaining to any particular office, ... and these ministers, likewise, carry the responsibilities of the whole empire. ..... The law of the authorities functions only in one limited period, but the criticism of superior men is published in the records and brought into the light, being handed down through a hundred generations and never falling into oblivion."51

Ou-yang Hsiu's insistence on the importance of loyal advice to the young Emperor in contemporary administration appears again in his expression of disappointment that during the month or so in which he had been in office as Advisor Fan Chung-yen had not uttered any criticism.

> "Now the Son of Heaven personally attends to matters of government; his influence is pure and enlightened and although there is no trouble in the empire he has summoned you from a distance of a thousand li to take up this office. Is this not because he desires to hear just criticism and delights in outspoken words? So far, however, I have not heard that such words have been spoken so that the empire may know that there are upright ministers at Court, that our ruler is enlightened enough to accept criticism ..... I humbly desire that you should consider the Emperor's intention in appointing you, and stand in fear of the criticism of superior men of a hundred generations."51A

In 1034, about three months after termination of Lo-yang office, the appointment of Collator of Texts in

the Hanlin Academy[52] provided Hsiu with the opportunity to practise what he preached.

Towards the end of 1035 on the occasion of the dismissal of Shih Chieh,[53] he made an outspoken criticism of the government. Shih, who had been holding the post of magistrate, was promoted to that of registrar in the Censorate but before the appointment became effective he submitted a sharply-worded memorial protesting against the application of the terms of an amnesty to the descendants of officials of the contending states of the Five Dynasties period. His appointment was immediately cancelled. Thereupon, Hsiu wrote to the Vice President of the Censorate, Tu Yen,[55] combining a protest against this particular case with a discussion of the obligation on the part of government officials to accept criticism.

Shih, as Hsiu pointed out, was a minor official, and the adoption or rejection of his recommendations as to what was right or wrong would hardly be likely to harm the government. What was regrettable was not Shih's temerit but the reaction which this provoked in certain officials, and the complete apathy with which the issue was regarded by the advisory body generally.

In this case, as in the case of the dismissal of Fan

56

Chung-yen later, it was the failure of advisory officials to form independent judgments and have the courage to express them which incensed Hsiu. Shih was a man of scholarship and integrity whose appointment and promotion had been regarded with satisfaction; once his dismissal was announced his former supporters accepted the official condemnation without question. Admittedly, the office of registrar in the Censorate was a non-advisory one. Nevertheless, Hsiu maintained

> "..... it is essential that those who hold office in the Censorate should be men of integrity and courage, who never shrink from fulfilling their duty. Now Shih Chieh's foot has not yet stepped over the threshold of the Censorate and yet he has been dismissed for discussing matters of state.
>
> "..... Was your appointment of Shih Chieh based on previous investigation and a knowledge of ability, or was it a random choice? If you selected him on merit then it is not permissible for you suddenly to dismiss him now. If it was a random choice, then it is nevertheless fitting that you should inquire into what he has said and consider the right and the wrong of the matter and then make your decision accordingly.
> Although Shih has given offence to high-ranking officials of state, yet if what he has said is right then you should give him your help to defend his case."
>
> "If what he has said is wrong, then it is nevertheless fitting to remark that he was appointed only to the office of registrar which is not an advisory office.[57]

It was precisely the function of an official in Tu Yen's position to see that appointments, promotions and dismissals were made solely with a view to the disinterested administration of good government.

> "..... thus, although the Emperor may esteem a man, yet if he is unworthy it is proper that he should impeach and dismiss him. If the Emperor should dislike a man, yet if he is worthy he should advance and promote him. It is not meet that men should be promoted or degraded according to temporary likes and dislikes.
>
> "..... When you first selected Shih Chieh, you pronounced him to be a man of ability. ..... If you now dismiss him and appoint another it is imperative that you should select a worthy man. Such a man will certainly be one who liked to discuss affairs, and once he takes up his appointment in the Censorate you will again have outspoken criticism and there will again be a dismissal and a re-appointment. This being so, ultimately you will get only the stupid and the silent. If you desire to appoint such men then how can I venture to make any further comment; but if you intend to recommend a worthy man, it is my humble desire that you should appoint Shih Chieh and no other."[58]

This letter was ineffective as far as Shih Chieh was concerned, and fortunately was without unpleasant consequences to Ou-yang Hsiu himself. With the dismissal of Fan Chung-yen, however, Hsiu gained personal experience of the sensitiveness to criticism of Lü I-ch'ien.

The supporters and friends of Fan Chung-yen, in spite of the warnings posted at Court, voiced their own and

public opinion with considerable vigour. The first protest came from Yü Ching,[59A] then holding office as Corrector of Texts in the Hall of the Assembled Worthies.[60]

> "Fan Chung-yen" he wrote "has incurred heavy punishment for satirising ministers of state. If his words are not in harmony with Your Majesty's opinions, then it is simply a matter of whether Your Majesty will accept them or not. Why should Your Majesty regard it as an offence? ..... Since Your Majesty assumed control of the affairs of government You have several times dismissed those who have offered advice. I fear that this will seal the lips of the empire; and this is not permissible."[61]

On 11th June, Yü Ching himself was dismissed and sent as Supervisor of Wine Taxes[62] to Yün chou.[62A]

His colleagues, however, were not prepared to accept defeat so easily. Yin Chu immediately struck in defence of Fan Chung-yen at the same time demanding to be relieved of his own office.[63]

> "Yü Ching" he said, "was only slightly acquainted with Fan Chung-yen. His relationship to me was that of both teacher and friend. Thus, I am of his party: and since he has now been exiled on the charge of forming cabals at Court I can in no way avoid implication."[64]

Accordingly, on 13th June he was ordered to Ying-chou,[65] also as Supervisor of Wine Taxes. Su Shun-ch'in also submitted a memorial protesting against Fan's dismissal but this seems to have been ignored.[66]

The following day Yü Ching started on his journey eastwards, and two days later, Hsiu went to take leave of Yin Chu.

During the days following the dismissal of Fan Chung-yen, Hsiu himself had been far from idle. His immediate action was to get in touch with the Grand Advisor, Kao Jo-no,[67] who had maintained a discreet silence until Fan Chung-yen had been dismissed, whereupon he had raised his voice as loudly as any with the cry of corruption, heaping censure upon Fan and advising that he should be deprived of office.[68]

Hsiu met Kao at the latter's own request, at the house of Yü Ching, to discuss the matter. He could not believe his ears when Kao slandered Fan's conduct, thought that he was joking, until Yin Chu confirmed that Kao had in fact been spreading criticism of Fan's actions. At the time, however, other guests were present and Hsiu felt unable to speak his mind. Returning home in great indignation he wrote to Kao.[69]

"Ou-yang Hsiu proffers his salutations to the Grand Advisor and begs to state:

"When I was seventeen years old, my home was in Sui-chou. Here, I saw the list of successful candidates for the chin shih examination for the second year of the T'ien Shêng period, (i.e. 1024 A.D.)

and for the first time I became acquainted with your name. At this time I was young and had not had much contact with other men; moreover I lived in a remote district. Nevertheless I had heard of the Sung brothers, who are at present both holding office in the Censorate[70] and of Chêng T'ien-shu[71] and others who had a considerable reputation in the field of literature, and who were all adjudged successful men. You alone among them had acquired no prestige worth mentioning, and from first to last I suspected you and did not know what kind of a man you were.

"Eleven years after this, I came again to the capital. At that time you had already taken up office in the Censorate[72] but still I had no opportunity to make your acquaintance; from time to time, however, I enquired of my friend Yin Shih-lu[73] whether you were a worthy man. He replied that you were a man of integrity and scholarship, and a superior man. I still doubted this.

"A man of integrity cannot be deflected from the right path; a man of learning will certainly be able to distinguish right from wrong. To have an incorruptible standard of conduct, to be possessed of the intelligence to distinguish right from wrong, to hold moreover, an office which entails the responsibility of criticism, and yet to drift with the tide of event in silence and in no way to differentiate yourself from ordinary men - is this, in fact, worthiness? It is not capable of allaying my suspicions.

"It was only after you took up office as Grand Advisor that I had the opportunity of making your acquaintanc You have the appearance of frankness and integrity; you discuss the affairs of former times in minute detail and praise what is right and censure what is wrong without ever speaking falsely. Ah! When you display such eloquence before men, who is there not enamoured of it? Nevertheless, I continued to doubt whether you were indeed a superior man.

"Thus, from the time when I first heard your name, until I made your acquaintance, fourteen years passed

by, and three times I doubted you. Now, drawing conclusions from the line of your conduct and comparing these (with my suspicions), I reach the inescapable conclusion that you are not a superior man.

"A little while ago, Fan Hsi-wên[74] was dismissed from office ..... All his life he has been firm in principle and a lover of scholarship; he is well-versed in all things past and present and his appointment at Court was made with good reason, as everyone knows. Now, in the discussion of the affairs of state he has come into conflict with a great minister and committed an offence, and since you were unable to distinguish his innocence and, moreover, feared the censure of your superiors, you subsequently slandered him, considering that he should be dismissed. This indeed is to be wondered at.

"The nature of a human being whether firm or weak is received from heaven and cannot be forced. Even a sage will not impose upon a man as compulsory that which he cannot do. Now you have at home an aged mother, and you are apprehensive of your office; fearing hunger and cold you regard considerations of advantage and emolument and do not dare to oppose a great minister even once, lest you should bring calamity and punishment upon yourself. These are the normal reactions of the ordinary man, and make only an indifferent Advisor. Even the worthies of the Court sympathise with your shortcomings and do not impose upon you that which you cannot do. But in your case it is certainly not so. On the contrary, with arrogance and self-satisfaction and without the slightest feeling of shame or fear, you slander a worthy man and consider that he should be dismissed from office. This amounts to glossing over your own fault in not voicing any criticism.

"To attempt that for which our strength is inadequate is the defect of a fool. To gloss over one's faults with an appearance of wisdom is to play the thief to superior men.

"Further, was Hsi-wên indeed unworthy? For the past three or four years he has risen from the office of Secretary to the Court of Judicature and Revision,[75] to that of second-class Secretary in one of the first two Boards.[76] In the exercise of the function of an assistant advisory official he daily gave answer to the Emperor's questions. Among all the ranks of officials there is not one to compare with him. Thus, the Emperor for a long period employed an unworthy man. To cause the Emperor to treat an unworthy man as though he were worthy is to fail to exercise one's intelligence to the utmost. Your personal tenure of the office of Advisor has therefore been no more than the service of eye and ear. During Hsi-wên's lengthy period of employment, why did you not once make his unworthiness clear to the Emperor? On the contrary, you remained silent and spoke no word, but waited until he brought calamity on himself and then condemned him. If he is indeed worthy, then at the present time the Emperor and his great ministers, in holding obstinately to their own opinions, have dismissed a worthy man, and you cannot remain silent. Thus, whether you consider Hsi-wên to be worthy or unworthy, you cannot escape censure for the essential fault lies in your having kept silent.

"It is my humble opinion that since the present Emperor ascended the throne, he has appointed Advisors and accepted their criticism ..... and Hsi-wên and K'ung Tao-pu were both selected for appointment by reason of their ability to offer advice, reprove and to warn. You are indeed fortunate to live at this time and to meet with a sagacious ruler who will accept criticism, and yet you do not dare to utter a word. Why?

"Recently I heard that the Censorate displayed a notice at Court, warning officials not to go beyond the limits of their authority in discussing the affairs of state. Thus the only person with the right of criticism is the Advisor. If you do not in future utter any criticism, then the empire will be without a spokesman. You hold this office but do not exercise the right of speech; it is therefore fitting that you should leave it, and not prevent others from taking up the responsibility.

"Recently An-tao was dismissed from office and Shih-lu was exiled, but you are still able to associate with the great officials, you have access to Court and hold the title of Grand Advisor. This simply because you no longer realise that there are some things in human affairs which are shameful.

"It is indeed an occasion for regret that when debatable matters arise at the Court of a wise Emperor the Advisor remains silent leaving it to other men to speak of them, then this is recorded in the archives and in history, so that the person of whom future ages will be ashamed on behalf of the Court will be yourself.

"According to the laws of the Spring and Autumn Annals the responsibilities laid on a worthy man are manifold. Now if I could entertain the slightest hope that you would once be able to give advice, I could not bear to discount you without laying upon you the responsibilities of a worthy man.

"If you still consider that Hsi-wên was unworthy and merited dismissal, then my writing as I now do is the work of a partial and corrupt man. I desire that you should take this letter to Court immediately so that my fault can be amended and punished, and so that the empire may clearly know that Hsi-wên merited dismissal and that the office of Grand Advisor is for once effective."76A

Kao took the course suggested and made Hsiu's letter public at Court. On 17th June 1036, when he returned from seeing Yin Chu off, Hsiu found himself dismissed to I-ling Hsien[77] as prefect.

His subsequent remark in a letter to Yin Chu that their actions had created a sensation among the people was no exaggeration.[78] If the protest which he and his companions so energetically put forward failed to arouse in Jên Tsung

the power to discriminate between those officials who were worthy and those who were not, it nevertheless stimulated Court opposition to Lü I-chien and produced a corresponding public reaction. Few, however, dared to speak their minds openly at this time. Only Tsai Hsiang expressed his criticism in a poem praising the dismissed officials and branding Kao Jo-no.[79]

This poem passed from hand to hand in the capital; people copied it eagerly and booksellers made considerable profit from the sale of it. The Khitan envoy, who was at that time in Kai-fêng, purchased copies and posted them up in his official quarters.[80]

Hsiu had promised to keep Yin Chu informed as to the progress of events and he despatched a messenger with a letter to the boat by which Yin Chu was to travel. The messenger defaulted, however, and Yin Chu was obliged to leave without news.

Both Yü Ching and Yin Chu had been permitted to leave the capital without undue haste; but Hsiu complained that officials from the Censorate harassed him so that he scarcely had time to make adequate arrangements for himself and his household:[81]

"I was completely flustered and did not know what

> I was doing. ..... My first intention was to travel by road to I-ling. But on account of the great heat and since I had no horses, I had to travel by boat." 82

The weather was as inclement as the officials. On 21st June Hsiu and his family went to the Eastern Water Gate[83] of K'ai-fêng where his boat was anchored in the river. The water was so rough that the boat, which was lying athwart the stream, was unable to come in to the shore and nearly capsized. For hours the family huddled in a pathetic and frightened group on the bank. Ultimately the boat was moored up under the walls of a pavilion, but it was not until three days later that they were able to start on their long and perilous journey to I-ling.

In spite of being "harried from all sides", Hsiu managed to spend the days before his departure visiting numerous friends. Chün-huang,[84] Ts'ai Hsiang,[85] Chang Sun-chih,[86] Wu-p'ing,[87] Yüan-shu,[88] Sun Tao-tzŭ,[89] Ching-tun,[90] Kung-ch'i[91] and Mu Chih in particular stayed with him most of the time, playing chess, listening to the music of the ch'in, and engaging in lively discussions on the political situation.

On 24th June, Hsiu rose early and reluctantly took his leave. His route lay along the course of the Pien River[92] as far as Ho-yin,[93] where he entered the River Huai,

following this down to Yang-chou[95] and then sailing into the Yangtze[96] which took him 5,000 li[97] to Ching-nan.[98]

On 26th June he reached Ying-t'ien[99] where Shih Chieh, who was holding office there as magistrate, went down to the riverside with a party of his colleagues to meet Hsiu and to hold a feast for him in a pavilion on the river bank. Hsiu was suffering from an affection of the throat which made it impossible for him to drink wine, but his companions, undeterred by his many misfortunes, made merry and departed pleasantly drunk.

Passing through Hsü-chou and Ssu-chou "where I tasted Huai yü[100] for the first time," Hsiu met old acquaintances and made new friends.

In spite of these diversions, the length of the journe its discomforts and his fears of what his reception at I-ling would be caused his resolution to waver momentarily. He confessed that when the edict announcing his dismissal was issued he was at first afraid, but that after considera- tion he realised that he was "indeed fortunate" after committing a serious offence to be again given office.[101]

Qualms about his future and regrets at his apparent rashness occasionally reasserted themselves.

"Today, for the first time, I realise the enormity

of my offence" he wrote at one point,[102] "I-ling is still three thousand li distant."

And no doubt his arrival would be accompanied by the bandying about of his name as that of an official who had been sent into exile.

> "The officials will discuss the matter in the fu, the minor officials will talk about it in the streets and the people will gossip about it in the road.
>
> "The people of I-ling will not want me there - all of them will hate me. ..... I cannot expect to hear a single word of friendliness."[103]

These were, however, no more than momentary waverings and if his prospects left him somewhat chastened he gave no indication of regretting his course of action. When he met Yü Ching at Ch'u-chou[104] on 7th July and they

> "discussed the matter of blessings and calamities in some detail,"[104A]

Hsiu admitted the justice of his own punishment: for when a man committed an offence

> "if the body is not chastened by corporal punishment, then it is necessary for the offender to be sent to an objectionable place in order to chastise him. He should be sent in haste to conditions of hardship and poverty, with mountains on the one hand and dykes and ditches on the other; with snakes and tigers before and thorny thickets behind so that his every action instead of encountering good fortune is beset by untoward happenings. Then his predicament is indeed one to raise pitying laughter, so that he feels deep shame and desires to repent and reform."[1

This, he maintained was "the benevolence of those who administer government,"[106] and while he urged upon Yü Ching the example of famous men of former ages "who did not shrink from the fulfilment of their duty, even to the point of death," he nevertheless exhorted him to avoid the snare of self-pity.[107]

Yü Ching stayed three days in Ch'u-chou. Hsiu had recovered somewhat from his "affection of the throat" and they spent the time drinking, playing chess and drifting up the river in the moonlight. Here, Hsiu

> "Tasted melons and saw the lotus flower for the first time."[108]

The weather was oppressive and sultry with a high wind, thunder and storms of rain and hail.

The 17th July was Hsiu's twenty-ninth birthday, which was celebrated by giving a party for him on board. Three days later Yang Tzŭ-ts'ung arrived from Shou-chou[109] and on 23rd July Ch'ên Ts'ung-i[110] and Ch'ên Ts'ê[111] arrived from K'ai-fêng, bringing Hsiu news of the activities of Ts'ai Hsiang and the circulation of his poem.[112]

Altogether Hsiu spent seventeen days at Ch'u-chou starting again on 24th July and passing through Pao-ying[113] to Kao-yü[114] where he met Yang Tzŭ-ts'ung again on 26th July, and they travelled together through Shao-po[115]

to Yang-chou.[116] Yang left the following day (29th July) for Jun-chou,[117] Hsiu staying four or five days at Yang-chou in the company of Po-ch'i,[118] Wang-ch'i,[119] Hsü Yüan,[120] T'ang Chao,[121] Su I-fu[122] and others.

At Chên-chou[123] which he reached on 4th August, Hsiu found the weather extremely hot and was somewhat discommoded by a shortage of water. Other boats were moored on the river waiting for cooler weather, and Hsiu passed the time visiting their inhabitants and calling on a Buddhist recluse who played the ch'in. On 21st August, taking advantage of a night wind he sailed on to Chiang-ning Fu[124] where he stayed for four days. At Ts'ai-shih,[125] on 28th August, he was held up by a high wind which almost overturned the boat and

> "I cried aloud to the spirits to grant me
> yet a little span of life."[126]

By the beginning of September the wind had abated and Hsiu travelled day and night to Chiang-chou[127] which he reached on the 3rd. Here the wind dropped completely and he was becalmed for four days. He was still far from well, and a Buddhist monk was called to attend him "but without much effect."

From Chiang-chou he moved on past Ch'i-yang,[128] Hsin-yeh[129] (where, after an invocation to the spirits of the

river, he hooked a large fish) and Tz'ŭ-hu[130], arriving at Huang-chou[131] on 13th September. The following night he sailed on coming to E-chou[132] on 17th September. Here again he was held up for two or three days by a high wind, and took advantage of the delay to make the acquaintance of Ling-ku[133] and Hsiu-i[134].

A week later, at Chao-hua Chiang[135] and at Ch'uan Shih Tz'ŭ[136], the wind rose again so that it was impossible to keep the boat at its moorings:

> "The wind buffetted the boat and it was impossible to get any rest,"

and Hsiu prayed to the River Spirits for calm.

By 26th September he reached Yüeh-chou[137] where he moored his boat outside the city walls and went ashore to meet an official from I-ling Hsien. The following day he disposed of his own boat and travelled on by government boat, reaching Li-chia-chou[138] via Ching-chiang[139] by 30th September. After two or three days delay at Shih-shou[140] he arrived at Kung-an Tu[141] on 9th October.

There is no record of his journey for the remaining five hundred li to I-ling Hsien, except that he passed through Ching-nan[142] where he probably spent some ten days, since he took up his post at I-ling on 17th November, ten months and twenty-six days after leaving K'ai-fêng.-

On his arrival at Ching-nan, Hsiu was able at last to get into touch with Yin Chu. When Yin Chu had been dismissed, Hsiu had arranged with him to send a messenger to keep him informed of the course of events. Accordingly, when his own dismissal was announced he sent an old servant to report the fact to Yin Chu. The servant returned saying that he had not been able to discover Yin's boat, but that evening Hsiu received a letter from Yin from which he discovered that the boat had in fact waited for the messenger, and that Yin could not understand why Hsiu had not kept his word. Hsiu then realised that the messenger had defaulted, but being busied with preparations for his own departure he had no time to send another letter, and was forced to rely on Wang Kung-ch'ang to send news to Yin Chu. There was no place on his journey from which he could despatch a letter to Yin, and whether Wang had complied with his request or not he did not know. When he arrived at Ching-nan Hsiu enquired of the local people and found that Ying-chou, where Yin Chu had been sent, was only two stages away and he was at length able to send a letter to him. Also he was told that someone had seen Yin Chu on his way through Hsiang-chou[142a] so that it was fairly certain that he would by now have

been at Ying-chou for some time.

> "I do not need to ask you," wrote Hsiu "whether you are glad or sorry. What I am longing to ask is how things are with you and your family? 146
>
> "Although the journey is long, yet Chiang-hu is a place I used to travel in a good deal, and we frequently find old friends who give us hospitality; nor have we encountered any evil influences. And my old mother has remarked aptly that this journey is indeed a good fortune. Moreover I have heard that at I-ling there are grain, flour and fish, just as in Lo-yang and the capital; and that there are pears, chestnuts, oranges, pumelos, large bamboo shoots and tea." 146A

I-ling, moreover, was

> "a place of one to two thousand households where there will certainly be no trouble. For an offender to get this post is indeed the greatest of good fortune."147

Hsiu's spirits rose, too, as he found that his fears of a hostile reception at I-ling were groundless. He had anticipated that

> "my coming would be fraught with hardship and disgrace. But now I find that it is not so, and I have received nothing but the greatest courtesy and have no need to feel shame over my exile."
>
> "Yesterday, when the Transport Commissioner treated me with the respect due to a superior I woke up to the fact that I am indeed the prefect of a hsien."148

At Chien-ning he had been presented with a formal address by people from I-ling, the wording and the spirit of which shewed that not only did they not hate Hsiu as

he had anticipated but that they desired to treat him with the greatest courtesy.

> "I could not help being greatly pleased, and yet there was something in this which did not accord with my own feelings. When men treat you generously and as they did in former times, it is because they feel sure that there is that in you which justifies such treatment, and of which you need not be ashamed. ..... and my only fear is that now they have seen me they may find me not to be what they had expected and this will only increase my mortification.
>
> "..... When people are banished for discussing state affairs, some of them wax proud, insolent and wild, saying 'I have done a great deed, I do not commit petty acts.' Thus when we parted, I said that I would exercise more caution and not indulge too much in wine. I still honour those words. Since I left the capital my throat is much better, and until now I have drunk no wine. When I reach my destination I will be diligent in the conduct of my office in order to correct the laxity of my days in Lo-yang.
>
> "There is a road from I-ling to Ying-chou, and this should reach you in a few days. An old servant suffices for all my fetchings and carryings. The autumn is chill." 149

PART II

INTRODUCTION

Ou-yang Hsiu's contribution to literature was probably greater, at any time in his career, than his contribution to politics, and the significance of his early years emerges more readily in relation to the former than to the latter.

Nevertheless the relationship of literature, ethics and politics was, in early Sung times, a very close one, and this is particularly true of the movement of which Hsiu became an important representative.

There has been a general neglect in Western scholarship and stagnation in Chinese on the question of the nature and the effects of the so-called ku-wên movement, the process of its growth and the relative importance of its representatives: both Chinese and European writers have been content merely to reiterate certain stereotyped formulae from which a number of misleading conclusions may be - and are - drawn.

Briefly, these conclusions are as follows:-

1. That a clear-cut division exists between the style of p'ien-wên and that of ku-wên, and that each excludes the methods of the other.
2. That p'ien-wên, developing out of the fu in the

in the Western Han period (206 B.C. - 23 A.D.) gained undisputed supremacy as the exclusive literary medium until it met with a sudden and ignominious defeat at the hands of the T'ang writer, Han Yü (768-824 A.D.)

3. That after the death of Han Yü the ku-wên movement suffered a complete relapse from which it was rescued only after some two hundred years of p'ien-wên by Ou-yang Hsiu.

4. That the ku-wên movement, in both the T'ang and the Sung dynasties, was primarily and predominantly a movement of literary reform.

These conclusions are demonstrably erroneous. The ku-wên writers (with the possible exception of those concerned in two abortive attempts at reform in the Northern Chou (557-581 A.D.) and the Sui (605-618 A.D.) dynasties) did not eschew the media placed at their disposal by the formalities of p'ien-wên. On the contrary, it is evident that they did not hesitate to make use of these whenever they felt that their arguments could thereby be rendered more effective, since their objections were directed, not against stylistic devices as such, but against the literary and moral degeneracy consequent upon an excessive preoccupation with technicalities.

The assumption - implicit and explicit - that it is p'ien-wên which has had the continuous tradition, while ku-wên has had a chequered career of alternate obscurity and emergence (the latter being effected not by any tendency inherent in the language itself but by vigorous campaigning on the part of its advocates, is only a partial truth, based on two misconceptions: First that p'ien-wên is something which is in its very nature different from ku-wên, and second that purely free prose is alien to the Chinese language.[2]

While it is indisputable that at certain times the p'ien-wên writers exerted an influence which completely overshadowed any activities in the field of ku-wên, it is also more than probable that the ku-wên movement while periodically ineffective was never actually extinct,[3] and that it may have been as continuous, if not as conspicuous, as that of p'ien-wên. Moreover, in this movement, both Han Yü and Ou-yang Hsiu had their precursors as well as their followers. They were, in fact, the last, not the first, of a series of writers who had aimed at a ku-wên revival, and their importance while it is in no way to be belittled - particularly in the case of Han Yü - has nevertheless tended in each case to obscure the significanc

of their predecessors.

In the case of Ou-yang Hsiu, however, if he has been given too much credit on the one hand, he has perhaps been given too little on the other, owing to the superior talent of his followers, - the two Su's,[4] Tsêng Kung[5] and Wang An-shih.[6]

As to the nature of the ku-wên movement it is evident that its advocates (apart from a small number of early T'ang writers, and certain well-intentioned but mis-guided supporters of the movement in both its main periods),[7] viewed their endeavours as directed mainly towards ethical ends, and towards the reform of literary style only in so far as it served those ends. The ethico-political character of the movement increased in proportion as its literary characteristics became more firmly established, until it eventually emerged in the functions of three main representative bodies of Sung times who applied its principles to the progressively practical ends of the resuscitation of Confucian ethics, their diffusion and transmission through the rehabilitation of schools and the renovation of teaching methods, and finally the application of these principles to the conduct of government.[8]

The aim of the present survey is to put forward the

evidence for these findings, and to show the relation of the young Ou-yang Hsiu to the Sung ku-wên movement in the light of the situation which they establish.

Further, a number of important problems emerge, the solution of which does not properly fall within the scope of the present thesis. These problems are outlined in a final chapter.

CHAPTER I

THE LITERARY BACKGROUND

Trivial as the events of Hsiu's first years in office appear to be there were influences at work which had far-reaching effects on his subsequent career in both the literary and the political fields. His appointment at Lo-yang brought him into contact with representatives of the two main literary movements of the period - the writers of p'ien-wên[1] or 'regulated' prose, and the advocates of ku-wên[2] or 'free' prose. Moreover, the distribution of the members of these schools coincided largely with the divisions of the rival political factions.[3] The ageing Ch'ien Wei-yen was one of the three leading representatives of the early Sung school of p'ien-wên writers, while Hsiu's immediate contemporaries were endeavouring to effect a revival of the ku-wên movement inaugurated in the T'ang Dynasty by Han Yü.[4] Their aim was twofold: to counteract the vacuity and insipidity which, owing to the extremist activities of the p'ien-wên school, was the predominant feature of contemporary writing, and to restore to literature the function of a vehicle for the elucidation and transmission of Confucian ethics. Before considering the activities of these rival movements, and the position of the young

Ou-yang Hsiu in this field, it is necessary to outline in brief the development of the two schools.

It is a platitude at this date to remark that Chinese civilisation is a series of alternating periods of ordered government accompanied by cultural advance and of disorder and internicine wars during which culture tended either to stagnate or to deteriorate. The importance of the question here is that during the three main periods of ordered government in the period under review (i.e. the Han, T'ang and Sung dynasties) the fundamental object of study for scholars was the six classics. During these periods, however, the aspects from which these classics were viewed, and consequently the functions which they fulfilled, and the influence they exerted on contemporary writers differed. In Han times, after the destruction of the classical texts by Ch'in[5], the natural preoccupation of scholars was to restore the ancient texts to their original state, or to something as nearly approaching this as circumstances rendered possible. Their main concern was therefore textual.

In Sung times the major consideration ultimately became the exposition of the ethical and philosophical principles contained in the classics; the question of

literary style, when considered as an independent unit, was regarded as hinging entirely on the writer's ability to absorb these principles.

Between these two periods come the writers of the T'ang dynasty, the Five Dynasties and the early years of the Sung dynasty. In the T'ang dynasty, for the first time since the sages, the didactic purpose of the classics was re-asserted and literature was regarded and used as a medium for ethical instruction by the school of ku-wên writers of which Han Yu is traditionally regarded as the founder. After the time of Han Yu, the influence of the ku-wên tradition steadily declined, and in the writings of the late T'ang and Five Dynasties periods p'ien-wên was predominant. In the early years of the Sung dynasty the ku-wên movement was successfully revived, and in this revival Ou-yang Hsiu played a prominent part.

The technicalities of the ku-wên and p'ien-wên styles are not discussed here[6] but the matter may be briefly summarised thus:-

The difference is fundamentally one of function.

The term ku-wên has a double significance. First it comprehends the prose writings of the period up to and including[7] the Western Han dynasty. Secondly, it denotes

the style created and so named by Han Yu[8], theoretically on the basis of these earlier models. In both cases its object is utilitarian and it consists of 'free' prose in which the artistic element is subordinated to the didactic It employs such stylistic devices as are convenient to the elucidation of its subject matter, including the characteristic Chinese device of parallelism.

P'ien-wên, on the other hand, consists entirely of parallel writing in which complex regulations govern phraseology, tonal pattern and rhyme, and in which the purely visual element also plays an important part. It is a highly artificial style in which technical skill is its own end and rapidly becomes a parody of itself if used without discretion. Gradually, the qualities which removed it from the utilitarian sphere assumed paramount importance and in the hands of the less talented writers it became mannered and obscure, worthless as literature and ineffectual for practical use.

The deliberate use of parallelism as a stylistic device for its own sake, which gradually brought about this shift of emphasis from content to form, may be said to have begun with the Eastern Han dynasty[9] when the characteristics of the fu[10] began to invade the territory

of prose writing proper.

There are, of course, examples prior to this date of what must obviously have been a conscious use of parallel structure,[11] but the tendency was not general. With the advent of Chü Yüan[12] and Sung Yü[13] the development of p'ien-wên was given considerable impetus, for it was from the works of these writers and their followers (in particular the Li Sao[14] of Chü Yuan) that the fu form emerged.

The form of the fu and the style of p'ien-wên both lie on the borderline between the categories of poetry and prose, and the poetic content of the one influenced, and was in turn influenced by, the increasingly formalised style of the other. The result was a steadily increasing tendency towards the use of literature for purposes other than utilitarian or ethical.[16]

The beginnings of this trend are perhaps most readily discernible in the works of Ssŭ-ma Hsiang-ju,[17] of the Western Han dynasty, who was an enthusiastic follower of Chü Yüan and Sung Yü and did much to popularize the fu. His Shang lin fu[18] for example called forth the amazement of contemporary scholars for the elaboration of its style and - with some justification - was criticised

by them as a compilation of mere dictionary phrases, devoid of all spontaneity of feeling.

Yang Hsiung,[19] like Ssŭ-ma Hsiang-ju, was an admirer of Chü Yüan, and his early writings established him as an important contributor to the development of p'ien-wên. In his later years, however, perceiving the dangers of the style which he advocated, he endeavoured to counteract its influence; his views on this matter foreshadow the objections of the later ku-wên writers to the technical preoccupations of the exponents of p'ien-wên.[20]

> "Someone asked me: 'When you were young were you fond of writing fu?' I replied: 'Yes - a boy has ability in trifling things.' (lit: carving insects and reptiles). After a pause I added: 'An adult does not do this.'"[21]

And again:

> "Someone asked: 'Does the superior man esteem belles-lettres?' I replied: 'A superior man values the content. If the content is superior to the style then the result may be crude. If the style is superior to the content, then you have the fu. If the two elements are equally matched then you have the classics: and when both style and content are adequate you have a truly ethical literature."[22]

With Yang Hsiung's later works, the historical writing of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien,[23] and Pan Ku[24] form the main body of representative ku-wên writing during the two Han periods; there is however no lack of the "gaudy splendour" of p'ien-wên; - particularly among the later Han writers,

as a result of whose influence the main characteristics of regulated prose were well established by the end of the Eastern Han dynasty.[24A]

From this point the "decay of the Eight Dynasties" began[25] and the vigour and comparative freedom of the earlier prose was lost in the search for elegance of phrase and beauty of metaphor, with resultant

> "damage to literary thought and defects in the harmony of content with external appearance."[26]

It was the Wei dynasty which

> "opened up the delicate characteristics of the period."[27]

T'sao Chih[28] a man of great talent who admired almost exclusively the niceties of regulated prose, formed a literary coterie[29] under whose leadership p'ien-wên became the focus of the world of letters.

During the Ch'i[30] and Liang[31] dynasties the discovery of the tonal properties of the language and the enunciation of the principles of tonal balance by Shên Yüeh[32] provided another important consideration for p'ien-wên writers, and led to a further 'debasement' of style.

It was in the Ch'ên[33] and Northern Chou[34] dynasties, however, that p'ien-wên reached the climax of its splendour or the extreme point of its decadence, according to the point of view adopted, the importance of Hsü Ling[35] and

So Hsin[36] at this time being equal to that of Han Yü[37] and Liu Tsung-yüan in the field of ku-wên later.

Concurrent with these developments in the field of p'ien-wên were the activities of a number of writers such as Chu-ko Liang,[38] Ch'ên Shou,[39] Tu Yü[40] and T'ao Yüan-ming,[41] who were not entirely cut off from the tradition of ku-wên.

The first deliberate effort to restrict the influence and development of regulated prose seems to have been towards the end of the Ch'ên dynasty, when a protest was made by Yao Ch'a,[42] a scholar of considerable reputation, who being ordered to compile the History of the Liang Dynasty,[43] "composed it throughout in non-regulated prose".[44] It is difficult to estimate what influence, if any, this work had on the attempt made in 545 A.D. by Yü Wên-t'ai[45] of the Northern Chou dynasty,[45A] who with the co-operation of his Minister Su Ch'o,[46] endeavoured to stem the decadent tendencies of contemporary literature. Su was ordered to compose a decree on the model of the great Edict of Chou of the Book of History,[47] this decree then being circulated among the officials and made the compulsory model for such documents as decrees[48] and announcements.[49] In spite of the assertion that from this time on all literature followed this model,[50] Su's influence on general literary trends

appears to have been negligible. One of the reasons may well have been that his imitation of the style of the Shu ching was in some respects too faithful. In this he came much nearer to his aim than did Han Yü later, who claimed to go back to classical models, but in fact created a new style of his own, in which he employed many of the devices of p'ien-wên, as did practically all the ku-wên writers after him.[51] Su Ch'o's composition resulted in the production of a crude and archaic style which was not only displeasing but also probably inadequate as a vehicle for effective communication in his own time. An attempt to perpetuate his efforts was made by the Emperor Wên Ti of the Sui dynasty who was himself descended from the rulers of Northern Chou. In 593 A.D. he issued an edict to the effect that all documents, public and private, should be couched in plain terms and set forth plain facts.[52] At this time a certain provincial official committed an offence against this order by writing a memorial in an exceedingly ornate style, for which offence he was duly punished.[53] Li O made use of this incident to submit a memorial to the throne:

> "At that time," (i.e. in antiquity) he wrote, "whenever memorials were submitted to the throne, fu presented, edicts promulgated or obituary

> notices inscribed, all these were done with a view to praising virtue, recording worth, making achievement manifest or testifying to principles; all served as a warning or an exhortation and their intentions were never vain. But in later ages manners and morals gradually deteriorated."[54]

The San Tsŭ of Wei[55] he criticised tartly for becoming engrossed in the intricacies of literary composition and preferring the petty arts of the dilletante to the duties and principles proper to a ruler.

> "Inferiors followed superiors, as a man's shadow or the echo of a sound, and all vied with each other in elaboration of style and this example became the fashion."

In the Ch'i and Liang dynasties,

> "noble, commoner, worthy or fool - all devoted themselves exclusively to chanting and composing poems until they overlooked the truth and preserved the heresy, seeking after emptiness and pursuing trifles, wrangling over the novelty of a rhyme and quarrelling over the aptness of a word."[56]

> "Neither essays nor letters went beyond the form of moonlight and dew; writings piled up on tables and cluttered up coffers, but contained nothing but the form of wind and cloud. Contemporary public opinion held this style in high esteem, and at Court skill in its composition was taken as the basis for the promotion of scholars. Thus the way was opened for those who sought only emolument and profit, and admiration for this style became ever more firmly established. Henceforth, the children in the street and the sons of the nobility learned to compose 'five-word' verse before they knew their ABC."[57]

> "As for Fu Hsi[58] and the canons of Yao[59] and Shun[60],

or the teachings of I, Chuan, Chou, and K'ung,[61] [62] [63] [64] they no longer affected men's hearts nor entered their ears. They regarded arrogance as subtle and indulgence as meritorious, pointing to Confucianism and unworldliness as the stupidity of antiquity and using the tz'ŭ and the fu as the means for forming a superior man.

"Thus, while literary compositions became daily more prolific the conduct of government became daily more confused. Clearly, this was because men abandoned the regulations of the great sages, building upon that which was futile and regarding it as being capable of fulfilling a purpose."[65]

Thus, even in its earliest stages, the main issue of the attempt to revert to the simplicity of the ancient style was well defined - that is to say, it was fundamentally ethical and administrative, and not purely stylistic.

The emphasis placed by Li O on the importance of Confucian teaching and the relative unimportance of stylistic considerations as such, the respect which he evinces for truth of content and the contempt for empty adornment, outline the sphere in which the T'ang ku-wên writers moved. In this he is a forerunner of Han Yü, to whom the credit for introducing ethical considerations into a literary controversy is thus not entirely due.

It would seem however that neither of these two early attempts at reform have any real link with the main stream of the ku-wên revival, which dates from the early T'ang writers[67] whose style bears perhaps some resemblance to

that of Li O, but none to that of Su Ch'o.[68]

A Japanese commentator points out that although Li O rejects the p'ien-wên style and regards its use as futile, he nevertheless does not shake off the easy habit of the style. Shionoya, nevertheless, inclines to think that there was a tendency among Li O's educated contemporaries to set aside the p'ien-wên style. He considers that these writers began the real movement for the T'ang revival of ku-wên.[69]

A considerably more far-reaching influence than that of either Su Ch'o or Li O was exerted by the latter's contemporary Wang T'ung.[70] There has been considerable argument as to the identity, and even the existence,[71] of Wang T'ung. The only work of his which has survived is the Chung shuo,[72] and on the authorship of this, too, doubts have been cast.[73]

It would however appear to be established that the Chung shuo, whoever its author, or authors, may have been is an early T'ang text.[74] This being so, it marks an important point of departure in the development of ku-wên tradition, foreshadowing not so much the principles of Han Yü later in the T'ang dynasty[75] (whose doctrine it bypasses to some extent) - but those upheld by the later Sung

writers of the Neo-Confucian school as for example Chu Hsi[76], who were ultimately to criticise Han Yü for confusing the effect with the cause. For whereas Han Yü was to urge that a reversion to the ethics of the Han period should be effected through the medium of a purified literary style, the Sung Neo-Confucians held, on the contrary, that a pure literary style could only flow from a mind possessed of proper ethical principles.[77]

> "Literature flows out of the Way; how can there be such a thing as literature which leads back to the Way. Literature is literature and ethics is ethics ..... and to regard literature as leading back to the Way is to mistake the effect for the cause. How can this be permitted."[78]

This difference of emphasis is clearly foreshadowed by Wang T'ung:

> "The chün tzŭ of old," he wrote, "set his purpose on the Way, based himself on virtue and relied on benevolence, and after that literature flowed from him."[79]

Again:

> "When the master (i.e. Wang T'ung) was in Ch'ang-an, Li Tê-lin asked for an interview, and the master talked with him. After he had gone the master looked worried and depressed. His followers asked the reason and he replied, 'Tê-lin has talked the whole day and he spoke only about the style of literature, and said never a word of the underlying principles.' Then his followers asked, 'Why do you worry about this?' He replied, 'This is not a thing that you can understand. When men speak of literature and neglect to discuss fundamental principles, then there is no true literature in the empire.'"[80]

And again:

> "For those who study what need is there to read much; what is necessary is to comprehend the Way. For those who write, what need is there to be prolific; what is necessary is that their writings should flow from righteousness."[81]

After Wang T'ung there appears to have been a lapse of some forty years before any other noteworthy attempt to revive ku-wên was made. In the early T'ang dynasty the majority of writers of note used the p'ien-wên style almost exclusively. Certainly none of them deliberately advocated ku-wên, either for stylistic or for ethical reasons.[82]

It was not until the time of Ch'ên Tzŭ-ang[83] that the movement started which culminated, during the T'ang dynasty, in the works of Han Yü, and persisted sporadically until the ku-wên revival of the Sung dynasty.

The incompatibility of the current style of writing with the expression and elucidation of ethical principles was a matter of great concern to Ch'ên Tzŭ-ang.

> "I have heard," he wrote, "that while the reverberations of a big bell are in a man's ears it is of no use to talk with him of the sound of beating on a platter. While a man is cooking an ox, a sheep or a pig how can one recommend to him the flavour of a broth of herbs. Likewise mere skill in writing is rejected by men of great worth and petty

> talent for sophistry is disallowed by men of fine perception. Is this not because the ancient worthies regarded such things as the flimsiest part of Tao and Tê?"85

> "The right principles of literary composition have been in process of decay for five hundred years. The style of Han and Wei was not transmitted to Chin and Sung ..... I have read the poems of Ch'i and Liang in which the writers vied with each other in complexity and elegance, but the content is meaningless. And constantly I sigh over this and think of the writers of old ..... and worry about this increasing decadence."86

An interesting and neglected writer who stands between Ch'ên Tzŭ-ang and Han Yü is Liu Mien,[86A] whose views on the nature and function of literature are in many respects similar to those of Han Yü particularly in his insistence that the proper function of literature is didactic and that its purpose is to "civilize by means of teaching."[87]

> "If the art of writing is not rooted in the function of civilising then it is no more than petty skill."88

And again:

> "The art of writing has its roots in the process of civilizing ..... In the heart of the superior man it is the trend of the will; when it takes form in the words of a superior man it becomes literature; when it discusses the ethical principles of a superior man then it becomes a doctrine and exercises a civilising function."89

In the scholarship of a superior man two elements - literary ability and ethical perception were essential.

> "To have mere words without skill is not the scholarship of a superior man. To have skill without ethical principles is likewise not the way of a superior man."90

It was precisely the gradual separation of form from content and the abnegation by writers of their proper function which Liu deplored.[91] Since the time of Ch'êng and K'ang[92]

> "..... the art of writing and the function of civilising have become separated into two. Those who have inadequate talent persist in writing, but do not know the way of the superior man. Those who know the way of the superior man are ashamed to write."93

Not only was the existence of both elements indispensable, but it was of vital importance that they should be compatible:

> "If a man has ethical principles but cannot attain to a literary style then the ethical element preponderates. But if a man has literary ability but no perception of ethical principles, then the written style will have no vigour. When there is a preponderance of literary ability over ethical principles this is mere artifice."94

Liu was by no means unaware of the difficulty of achieving the requisite balance between content and style.

> "To combine literary ability with a perception of true ethical principles is indeed difficult. To effect such a combination is a matter for a superior man ..... Ah! The way of the sages is like the writings of the sages. (i.e. There is a complete balance between ethical principles and literary ability.)

"To study their principles and not to know their style - this is a thing of which the superior man would be ashamed. To study their style and not to know their teachings - this too the superior man would be ashamed of."95

To Liu, as to practically all ku-wên writers after

To Liu, as to practically all ku-wên writers afteca-dence of contemporary literature were indissolubly interlinked.

"Alas! For long there has been little talent in the empire and the spirit of writing has become weak indeed. Customs and morals have suffered neglect and become defective and it is pettiness of talent and weakness of spirit which has caused it to be thus.

"For the superior man of to-day cultivates his principles and puts their shortcomings into practice without even realising that they are defective. And so his talent dwindles daily, his inspiration becomes weak and his teachings of little effect, and so his followers become daily more boorish. As the vital force of a sick man dwindles, first from vigour to weakness, then from weakness to senility, and from senility to death, so by slow degrees his ability ebbs away, and all his life he remains oblivious of it; and none can cure this ill but the most skilled physician."95A

Like Han Yü and Liu Tsung-yüan after him, Liu Mien scorned writers whose main preoccupation was with superficial matters of a textual nature.

"To elucidate the meaning of the six classics, to act in conformity with the way of the former kings, this is the scholarship of the superior man and the basis of effective instruction. To know only the

> commentaries and sub-commentaries to the classics, this is the scholarship of the little man, and the limit of his teaching.
>
> "Nowadays, people put first the scholarship of the commentators and relegate the scholarship of the superior man to the second place. It is indeed difficult to seek out from among them a scholar of pure knowledge."96

Liu realised that his own talent was insufficient to keep pace with his ideals.

> "Although my mind is set on a reversion to antiquity yet my strength is inadequate."97

Again:

> "Although my intention is to revert to antiquity I am not able to achieve this and I am thus not qualified to discuss the writings of the ancients."98

It was left to Han Yü to bring to fruition not only Liu's ideals but those of the earlier writers whose aims had been similar.

Of these, Han Yü regarded Ch'ên Tzŭ-ang as the protagonist of the T'ang ku-wên movement[99] and did not apparently consider that this movement was in any way descended from that of the Northern Chou and Sui dynasties since he makes no reference to Su Ch'o, Li O or Wang T'ung[100] but couples with Ch'ên Tzŭ-ang the names of Su Yüan-ming,[101] Yüan Chieh,[102] and Li Kuan.

How far, if at all, Liu Mien may have influenced Han Yü it is impossible to assess. Although they were closely

related chronologically and their opinions had many points in common, yet Han Yü did not include Liu in his hierarchy of ku-wên writers,[103] nor does he appear to have mentioned him elsewhere.

An immediate influence, of which Han Yü was fully aware, was that of Tu-ku Chi[105] and Liang Su,[106] who were both endeavouring to evolve a free style of prose writing based on the Han writers Tung Chung-shu[107] and Yang Hsiung. Han Yü secured their patronage and under their influence began to practise writing ku-wên.[108]

Their aims, however, appear to have been almost exclusively stylistic, whereas Han Yü was equally concerned with ethical considerations; for him ku-wên was an essential part in a programme for the reform of his time by a revival of Confucian ethics; and although, as has been shewn, he was not the first to endeavour to restore to literature its ethical significance and didactic function, he was nevertheless the first successfully to combine these two elements and to persist with sufficient vigour and determination, in the face of considerable opposition and derision, to produce a lasting effect.

Few writers, whether Chinese or European, discuss

the question of Han Yü's contribution to the ku-wên movement, as distinct from the merits of his writings, being content merely to reiterate the tradition that Han Yü founded the T'ang ku-wên movement, after which all writers returned to the style of the ancients.[109]

M. Margoullies does discuss the matter,[110] but concentrates almost exclusively on purely stylistic questions, in spite of the fact that Han Yü himself has made it quite clear that while the question of style was unquestionably an actual one, it was a means and not an end, and that his efforts, like those of the majority of ku-wên writers, were rather pro-Confucian than anti-p'ien-wên.[111]

M. Margoullies remarks that Han Yü imitated the works of the Chou period, works not artistic but narrative, such as Tso Chuan. He continues:

> "..... et il prend soin de limiter son vocabulaire aux mots simples et expressifs, s'efforçant à les employer avec le plus de précision possible ..... Han Yu a recours aux effets syntactiques, aux répétitions, à l'impression produite par le mouvement de la phrase..... Le style ainsi obtenir par Han Yu est clair, simple et attachant, empreint très, fortement de la personnalité de l'auteur et par conséquent changeant moins avec les genres. C'est en cela que consiste le point principal de l'oeuvre de Han Yu: en mettant dans tous les genres littéraires sa personnalité d'auteur au premier plan il obtient une unité de style très

> grande, sous son pinceau le style ne fait plus la caractéristique d'un genre mais le reflet de sa personnalité. La simplification et l'unification du vocabulaire, la suppression de la recherche artistique font le reste et permettent à Han Yu d'accomplir sa grande oeuvre, l'unification du style de haute littérature et de la prose courant des compositions artistiques et des ouvrages instructifs, la création d'une langue prosaïque moyenne, instrument souple et docile aux volontés de l'auteur, cire qu'on façonne à volonté.
>
> "..... Aussi bien l'oeuvre de Han Yu fut, dans les grandes lignes, d'unir la prose courante des grands oeuvrages, la prose dont on se servait pour enseigne tu convaincre ..... avec la prose artistique, celle dont on se servait pour plaire ou émouvoir ..... formant ainsi le style qui conserva la dénomination Kou-wen."112

These remarks are just enough as far as they go but Han Yü has left evidence of his reasons for writing ku-wên and his views as to the nature and purpose of literature which extends the scope of his "grande oeuvre" considerabl beyond the boundaries of literary style.

> "The reason why I set my mind upon antiquity," he wrote, "is not merely that I admire its literary style but that I admire also the ethical principles which its writings contain."113

And in speaking of taking the sages as one's teacher, he says, "Study their meaning, not their style."[114]

That Han Yü realised the shortcoming of the existing trend towards the establishment of ku-wên in limiting its endeavours to purely stylistic considerations, is clear from his remark that

"In the writing of ku-wên, if I were to study merely the literary methods of antiquity, in what should I differ from contemporary writers, who consider the men of old but are unable to understand them?"115

He himself had a different aim:

"In the beginning, I dared to read nothing but the books of the Three Dynasties and the two Han dynasties; nor would I conserve any but the principles of the sages. I set myself firmly in this way, as though forgetful of all else; I put it into practice as though neglectful of all else; I held fast to it as though deep in thought, and wandered in it as though lost in a trance. And when it came to taking these things to heart and setting them down in my own hand my whole aim was to get rid of outworn clichés."116

As to the nature of literature, Han Yü expressed his opinions in a letter to his follower Mêng Tung-yeh:117

"The majority of created things when they are disturbed give forth sound. Thus, birds, plants and trees are by nature voiceless; but when the wind agitates them, they give forth sound. Water is by nature voiceless, but when the wind ruffles it, it gives forth sound; ripplings result from its being stirred up, a rapid current is the result of its being dammed, and boilings and bubblings result from its being heated. Metal and stone are soundless, but when they are struck they emit sound.

"The relationship of human beings to language is also like this. There are times when they cannot but become articulate; then their songs are fraught with meaning and their lamentations with grief. For does not everything which issues from the mouth and becomes articulate originate from a state of disequilibrium?

"As to music, this is engendered within (i.e. arises from a restlessness of the emotions) and flows thence outwards. To render it articulate we select from

among organic things those which give the best sounds. Metal, stone, silk, bamboo, gourds, earth, thongs of leather and wood - these eight are the most sonorous of organic things.

"Heaven, in its division into the four seasons, is also like this; it borrows those things which give forth the sounds best able to render the seasons articulate. For this reason the birds sing in the spring, thunder echoes in the summer, insects chirp in the autumn and the wind howls in the winter. Thus, in the rotation of the four seasons, it is essential that there should be that which is in a state of unrest.

"The relationship of Heaven to human beings is the same. That which is most refined in human articulation is language, and the most rarefied element of language is literature. How much the more then does Heaven select the most suitable instruments to render itself articulate[118] ..... The Tso chuan says 'Heaven is about to use the master as the wooden clapper of a bell.' Is this not to be believed?"[119]

The writer therefore should exert his talents

"to the utmost to interpret the purpose of Heaven"[120]

This the writers of antiquity achieved, and through them

"Heaven found expression."

Han Yü's purpose was to re-open the channel for the revelation of the purpose of Heaven and his motives for so doing were grounded not only in questions of Confucian orthodoxy,[121] but also in nationalistic and political issues particularly where these were affected (as they so frequently were) by Buddhism.

He thus entertained a dual purpose of advocating

ku-wên and of training itinerant preachers against Buddhism and to effect this he revived a practice of antiquity which had fallen into disuse - that of founding a 'school', for the transmission of the classics.[123]

In accepting the responsibilities of a teacher, he differed radically from his eminent contemporary and friend, Liu T'sung-yüan.[124] Liu, too, regarded with scorn the mere 'teachers of punctuation' who abounded,[125] and like Han Yü, he considered that literature was the proper medium for instruction of a more profound kind. Both insisted on the necessity for a teacher, whose function was to

> "transmit the Way, hand on the classics of antiquity, and resolve any doubts which might arise."[126]

In the propagation of his doctrine, however, Liu T'sung-yüan - as he himself admits - lacked the courage and persistance of Han Yü, while from a purely literary point of view he held that the essentials were a matter of inspiration and not of instruction.[127]

> "To speak of the Way, and explain antiquity, to explore to the full the possibilities of literary style in order to instruct others - these are certainly things which I should do. But my talents and courage are not equal to those of Han Yü and so I will not function as a teacher. Men's views of things have similarities and

> and differences. Do not lay upon me the responsibilities of a Han Yü .....
> Mencius said, 'Men's calamity is their fondness for teaching others.' But since Wei and Chin men have increasingly abandoned the habit of following a master, and the present generation have never even heard of doing so. ..... Only Han Yü obstinately persists in disregarding current trends."128

He says moreover,

> "My principles are not profound, my qualifications are exceedingly shallow. I have considered the matter from all angles but I can perceive nothing which fits me to be a teacher.
>
> "Although I am fond of discussion and of composition this in itself is insufficient."129

This passage points to two other respects in which he differed from Han Yü: in his inclination towards Buddhism and his more catholic literary outlook. For Han Yü literature meant almost exclusively ku-wên, while for Liu T'sung-yüan the term included both p'ien-wên and pu-wên.[130] As a result, while his prestige as a writer was ranked higher, at times, than that of Han Yü, his influence in the contemporary field of ku-wên was less immediately effective.[131]

That Han Yü himself was doubtful of the success of his endeavours and that they met with considerable opposition is clearly shewn in his own writings and those of his followers.

> "I am one," he wrote to one of them, "who can be said to have looked in at the doors and windows of Confucius' house, but not to have entered into it. ..... In what I do, I do not myself know whether I succeed or not."132

And again,

> "I do not know whether any use can be found for ku-wên in the world to-day. All I can do is hope for recognition from the discerning ..... A writer obviously cannot expect to be recognized by his contemporaries."133

His contemporaries indeed

> "were at first astonished; then they laughed or criticised,"134

and

> "whenever I move calumnies arise and my good name goes with them."135

In such circumstances, it was necessary, as Han Yü himself emphasized, to be able to

> "disregard what other men condemn, to have firm faith in one's own principles and the courage to act on them."136

These qualities he possessed to a marked degree, and by virtue of them he was able to succeed where his less pugnacious predecessors and contemporaries failed and ultimately gained a considerable following through whom the tradition of ku-wên persisted at least well into the ninth century.

None of his followers was so successful in combining

the literary and the ethical aspects of the reform, and there was among them an immediate division into two main schools in which the proportionate emphasis on the two elements varied.

These schools developed under the leadership of Huang-fu Shih[137] and Li Ao.[138]

Li Ao's bias was decidedly ethical:

> "The reason why I do not conform to contemporary trends, but study ku-wên, is that I delight in the conduct of the ancients. He who delights in the conduct of the ancients is one who loves their principles. Therefore in studying their writings one cannot but emulate their conduct; in so doing one cannot fail to esteem their principles; and, esteeming their principles, one must honour their observances."[139]

These reasons must surely have satisfied even Han Yü, had it not been for the fact that Li Ao's ethics were of a kind which Han Yü could not but regard as heretical.[140] Moreover, like Wang T'ung before him, for whom he had a considerable admiration,[141] Li Ao went farther than Han Yü and foreshadowed the view of the later Sung writers in holding that literature flowed inevitably from Confucian principles.[142]

Huang-fu Shih, on the other hand, evinced a pre-occupation with stylistic matters which led him - according to Li Ao - to commit the fault of indulging in novelty for

for its own sake, and Li wrote to him censuring him for the eccentricities of his style - a charge which Huang-fu Shih defended in somewhat sophistical terms:

> "In your letter you say that skilled writing should take precedence over that which is strange and marvellous: but, in my opinion, such writing is skilled merely in a negative way.[143]
>
> "A literature comparable to tigers and leopards cannot but shine among that which is like sheep and dogs; and when the sound of it is like the sound of the oriole and the phoenix it cannot but be sweeter than that of the crow. The brilliance of gold and jade is bound to be more dazzling than tiles and stones. It is not that these things have deliberate intention to take pride of place; it is in the nature of things that it should be so. A hill must be towering and majestic before it can be a mountain; water must be vast before it can be a sea; the pillar of the hall of princes must soar into the clouds and scatter the rainbow and the fiery pearl of Li-ling must be found by draining deep waters.
>
> "..... Literature is none other than the flowering of language. Its function is to express reason. Its aim is not to achieve novelty, but it will not be harmful if it does so. For the style is novel and the principles orthodox - this is the most difficult thing to achieve. It seems that you are preferring the easier way."[144]

These opinions are reflected in the writings of one of Huang's followers - Sun Ch'iao,[145] who traced his literary genealogy back to Han Yü through the school of Huang-fu Shih:

> "I learned how to write from Lai Kung Wu-tsê,[146]

who had learned it from Huang-fu Shih and he had learned it from Han Yü."147

His emphasis was as a result literary; he shared Huang-fu's tendency to word-play and his bias towards resounding phrases rather than orthodox sentiments.

> "The cry of the phoenix is sure to startle the ear and the sound of thunder to affright the heart. The design on the skin of a dragon or the pelt of a tiger - what things are these? The sun, the moon and the five planets, what phenomena are these? One must indeed ponder deeply in order to compose in a lofty style."
>
> "Profound content must be matched by lofty phrases for then the writing shines like the sun and moon moving across the sky, and is as splendid as the tiger and leopard are among the dogs and the sheep. For this reason, if such a style is used to elucidate the Way then it will be clear and detailed; and if used to secure fame, then this will be enduring."148

A contemporary of Sun Ch'iao, who belongs rather to the school of Li Ao in that his emphasis was decidedly ethical, was Pi Jih-hsiu.[149] He is probably better known as a poet, through his association with Lu Kuei-meng[150] (also a writer of ku-wên prose) in collaboration with whom he published a book of verse. His chief claim to fame in the field of prose resides in two compositions[151] which are of interest for a number of reasons. He seems to have been the first to endeavour to 'canonize' Han Yü, and to advocate that the writings of Mencius should be recognized

as one of the classics; moreover, like Li Ao, he realised the importance of Wang T'ung's contribution to the development of ku-wên[152] - three points which were characteristic of the majority of the early Sung ku-wên writers.

> "Mencius and Hsün-tzŭ transmitted the principles of Confucius down to the time of Wang T'ung. After his death, through the Chên Kuan and K'ai Yuan period, those who transmitted these principles were but as the dregs of wine and their followers were shallow. Either they based themselves on the school of law or were guided by the principles of expediency. Others regarded it as refined to compose tz'ŭ and fu. The way of Wang T'ung stretched over a hundred years, and of those who have received and helped to transmit it, only Han Yü has pushed Yang and Mo into the wastelands and Lao-tzŭ into the desert. It was as a result of his work that the way of Confucius regained prestige and was re-established in its splendour.
>
> "Among the countless compositions of contemporary writers, if one examines their works and looks at their tz'ŭ, there is not one which is of assistance in promoting culture and supporting the government of the time, which is not indebted to Han Yü."[153]

The restoration of schools a phase of the reform movement which had originated with Han Yü[154] and found a fuller development in early Sung times, was also advocated by P'i Jih-hsiu, who drew an unflattering comparison between the apparently efficient administration of Buddhist institutions and the lax methods of the Sung University:

> "Alas" he lamented "The Buddhist method of teaching its followers is to elucidate its laws daily, by means of research and instruction. Look at our University - it is only fit to be an object of scorn to the Buddhists. The standard of the present system of teaching is indeed deplorable."154A

The efficiency of Buddhist methods must have been irksome indeed to P'i who viewed Buddhism as the source of all corruption.[154B]

P'i, however, was waging a losing battle, for by his time ku-wên was becoming an increasingly minor tradition against the flourishing school of p'ien-wên writers.[155] From mid-T'ang onwards the p'ien-wên style had gradually crystallized into its most rigid form - a process which was hastened by a writer who began his career as an exponent of ku-wên. Li Shang-yin[156]

> "in the first place studied ku-wên and did not care for the p'ien-wên style. When he came to serve under Ling-Ku-ch'u,[157] who was a skilled writer of essays and memorials, he took lessons from him and started to write p'ien-wên."158

Thereafter Li dropped ku-wên and wrote almost exclusively in the style for which he himself is said to have invented the name 6-4.[159]

His style, although heavily loaded with allusions - the origin of some of them is still unknown - is nevertheless surprisingly vigorous and supple; indeed later critics

consider that had he kept to the writing of ku-wên, his achievements in this field might easily have surpassed those of his contemporaries Wen T'ing-yün [160] and Tuan Ch'êng-shih, [161] in the field of p'ien-wên. Ironically enough, however, it was Li Shang-yin, the one-time exponent of ku-wên, and not his more eminent contemporaries, who became the model for the early Sung school of p'ien-wên writers.

CHAPTER II

THE SUNG KU-WÊN WRITERS PRIOR TO OU-YANG HSIU

The early years of the Sung dynasty witnessed two concurrent developments in the field of literature: the rise and subsequent decline of a school of p'ien-wên writers, and the revival, ultimately successful, of the ku-wên tradition.

An inevitable difference of emphasis developed between the T'ang and the Sung writers of ku-wên. For the T'ang writers the problem of style had been an immediate and actual one, since to effect a restoration of Confucian ethics a suitable literary medium had first to be established. As has already been mentioned, Han Yü, while claiming to model himself on the prose style of Western Han, had in fact created a new style which employed many of the devices of p'ien-wên and which he used as a means of reverting to the ethics of the writers of antiquity.

The Sung writers, on the other hand, had a precedent in the works of Han Yü, however attenuated his influence might have become, and for them the relative importance of style and principles eventually became reversed.[1]

The Sung approach to antiquity in this matter, as in many others, was inevitably made through the intermediate stage of the T'ang dynasty, of which Sung tended to regard itself as the apotheosis. With a suitable literary style already created and with much pioneering work behind them, the early Sung ku-wên writers sighed not so much for a return to the sages of antiquity as for the advent of another Han Yü,[2] and their aim was less a reversion to the style and ethics of Han times, than a transmission forward of principles which during the intervening centuries had changed their nature considerably however little the Sung writers were aware of this fact.[3]

The writers following Han Yü had differed in the stress they laid on the formal and on the ethical aspects of ku-wên.[4] The Sung attempt to reunite these two elements produced the same result,[5] and the Sung writers separated into three main Schools, all using the ku-wên style as their literary medium, but holding different views as to the nature and function of literature. These Schools were:

1. The Ku-wên School proper, of which Ou-yang Hsiu, though not the first Sung exponent of the style, was the successful founder, being followed by such writers as Tsêng Kung, and the three Su's.

2. The Neo-Confucian School, headed by Chou Tun-i,[6] and followed by Shao Yung,[7] the brothers Ch'êng,[8] Chang Tsai,[9] Lu Hsin-hsiang[10] and Chu Hsi.

3. A third School, which may be termed the Governmental School and which had as its most notable representatives Ssŭ-ma Kuang, Wang An-shih and Li Kou.[11]

The aims of these three Schools differed.

1. The Ku-wên School was chiefly concerned with the elucidation and transmission of Confucian teachings by means of the revival and continuation of the work of Han Yü, his contemporaries and his followers.

2. The Neo-Confucian School held that Confucian principles as such were of paramount importance, and that literary style was not in itself a fundamental matter, but the inevitable result of the cultivation of ethical principles.

3. The Governmental School (which later became politically divided against itself) was mainly concerned with the utilitarian value of both style and principles applied to the conduct of good government as they saw it.[12]

This is not to say that the first two Schools did not concern themselves with practical issues. In Sung times the impact of ethical considerations upon political issues

was still relatively forceful. Nevertheless the aims of the Governmental School were predominantly utilitarian, while those of the other two Schools were by comparison largely idealistic. These considerations, however, belong to a later stage in the development of the move-
ment[14], and it is with the first of the three Schools that we are at present concerned.[15]

The Sung dynasty opened, as the T'ang had done, with the balance heavily weighted in favour of p'ien-wên. There were a number of older writers, who had been active during the period of the Five Dynasties and still enjoyed considerable prestige. Among them was a group of writers known as the Nine Buddhists[16] whose writings seem to have disappeared from circulation at quite an early date,[17] but not before they had influenced to some extent, the writers of the future Hsi K'un School. This School formed under the leadership of Yang I who, in 985, only twenty-five years after the establishment of the dynasty, was already enjoying the reputation of a child prodigy. Some years later, with Ch'ien Wei-yen and Liu-Yün he gathered round him a small number of p'ien-wên writers whose poems were published under the title Hsi K'un ch'ou ch'ang chi.[18]

These writers who modelled themselves on the T'ang

writers Li Shang-yin and Wen T'ing-yün, carried empty formalisation of style to unprecedented lengths. The best among them were men of considerable erudition, fastidious and skilful in their use of words, expressing trivialities in phrases of considerable elegance; the worst manufactured their compositions from a mass of half-digested allusions and eccentricities, and condemned the ethics of antiquity as obsolete.[19]

The early success of this School was due in part to the fact that it was supported by the immediate tradition of the late T'ang and Five Dynasties periods, and in part to the influential status at Court of its leading representatives. Its opponents were few, for the most part inferior in rank and removed by more than a century from a single authority to whom outside their own circle not even nominal respect was accorded. It was not until some twenty years after the formation of the Hsi K'un School that an effective attempt at a ku-wên revival was made by their younger contemporary, Liu K'ai.[20]

The circumstances of Liu K'ai's early life and his introduction to ku-wên bear a certain resemblance to those of Ou-yang Hsiu. His youth was spent in seclusion studying the classics, and in 965 A.D., when he was seventeen, he

received a copy of the works of Han Yü from an old Confucian scholar named Chao[21] living at T'ien-shui,[22] who gave them to him with the comment:

> "The style is simple and without elaboration; the underlying principles may seem difficult to understand, but examine them carefully and see what you think about them."[23]

Liu K'ai confessed, as Ou-yang Hsiu had done, that at this time he understood only a very little of Han Yü's writings, but that little aroused his enthusiasm and he immediately began to devote himself to the study of Han Yü and the writing of ku-wên, being at that time "the only person who followed in the footsteps of Han Yü",[24] whom he came to venerate even above Mencius, realising, as others had failed to do, the scope and importance of Han Yü's achievement. For the essential function of Mencius and Yang Hsiung was that even though they lived and wrote in troublesome times, they transmitted the Way of the Sages - they were links in the chain of tradition. Nevertheless they were not able to make the Way of the Sages operative in their own time, nor to inculcate their teachings in the minds of their contemporaries. By the time of Han Yü the continuity had been broken, the writings of the sages had fallen into neglect and were forgotten. Nevertheless, the Way was in essence

unimpaired; and the writings of Han Yü, in whatever form they were cast, returned to this Way and expounded it effectively to his own generation. In this, Liu held, Han Yü's achievement was far greater than that of Mencius or Yang Hsiung.[25]

Liu K'ai's view of the ku-wên movement gradually deepened from his initial "study of Han Yü and the writing of ku-wên" until his aim and emphasis became explicitly ethical.[26] Initially he had taken the name of Chien-yü[27] and the style of Shao-yüan[28] as an indication that he regarded Han Yü and Liu Tsung-yuan as his literary forebears; later, however, he changed his name to K'ai[28A] and his style to Chung-t'u[28B] as an indication of his intention[29]

> "to open up for the present age the Way of the sages and worthies of old; to open the eyes and unstop the ears of my contemporaries, that they may see clearly and hear distinctly. I desire so to open this way and make it that of my own time that both old and new may emanate from me ..... My desire is to realise the Way of Confucius."[30]

In his essay "A Response to Criticism"[31], not only does Liu K'ai clearly state his reason for advocating ku-wên, but he gives one of the few positive definitions of the signification of the term.

"You criticise me for my fondness for ku-wên;

- what do you mean by ku-wên? Ku-wên consists not in writing uncouth phrases and 'bitter' words which are difficult for readers to comprehend and to intone, but in bringing the underlying principles into conformity with those of the ancients, raising the content above the vulgar level and adopting the process of composition to your arguments just as the ancients did. This is what ku-wên is.32 If you do not appreciate the flavour of my writings, or fail to comprehend my meaning, it is because you regard them and intone them in accordance with contemporary habits, because you fail to measure my feelings and my purpose by the standards of the Way of antiquity. There is nothing wrong with my writings. If I were to follow present-day trends in literature, how could I spread enlightenment to the people? I should indeed be ashamed to act in such a way. To desire to follow the Way of the sages and to resort to contemporary literary methods to effect this, is like trying to ride the waves of the sea for a horse. It cannot be done. Therefore I follow the methods of ku-wên."32A

Again he remarks:

"In women one dislikes their appearance to be superior to their virtue, but one does not dislike their virtue to be greater than their attractions. In literature one objects to the style being more magnificent than the principles it expresses, but one does not object to the principles being finer than the style."33

For Liu K'ai as for Han Yü the Way was the goal in view, and literature was the means of attaining it.

"Literature is the net in which the Way is caught. How then can it be permissible to use this net recklessly? If the net is not properly employed the contents will be lost."34

Nor was his attempt at reform merely impractical enthusiasm. One of his most important contributions to the cause of ku-wên was his insistence on the necessity for a positive course of action; and in encouraging his contemporaries to write ku-wên he urged perseverance, the courage of one's own convictions and a complete disregard of personal profit. The ancients had not conducted themselves as they had in order to flaunt their works before their contemporaries, but in order to civilise the Empire and transmit to later ages the tradition of making a practical application of Tao and Tê in their own conduct, and in the carrying out of his own duties Liu exerted himself to the utmost to follow their example, a procedure which, ironically enough jeopardized the success of the efforts of which it was such an integral part.

The early course of his official career was promising. After taking his degree at the age of twenty-seven he received first a provincial and then a court appointment and enjoyed the reputation of being a man of integrity and ability. After his thirtieth year, however, the possibilities of his being able to exert any far reaching influence on contemporary literary trends were seriously

curtailed by his dismissal to the provinces as a result of his being involved in a disagreement with a Court official.

From then until his death in 1032, he spent the greater part of the time away from Court, either as a participant in expeditions against the Khitans or holding minor offices in the northern provinces.[35]

Thus, although his advocacy of ku-wên actually preceeded the rise of the Hsi-K'un School under the leadership of Yang I, his dismissal occurred when Yang I's talent was beginning to attract attention,[36] and a few years later, when Liu K'ai's fortunes were decidedly on the wane, Yang I was summoned to Court to begin a long career of almost unbroken influence and favour. The recommendation of Liu's writings by such scholars as Wang Yü,[37] Fan Kao[37A] and Yang Chao-chien[38] was insufficient to counterbalance the combined weight of inherited p'ien-wên tradition and the rise of so brilliant and influential a scholar as Yang I.

Contemporaneously with Liu K'ai, Chao Hsiang[39] was advocating ku-wên for reasons which have a somewhat Neo-Confucian flavour.

That which evoked the spiritual element in man's

nature was culture - of which literature was an important part. It was a fundamental necessity that all culture should be established on a firm basis. Once it was rooted in Confucian principles it evolved in accordance with the Way and communicated with man's spiritual nature. Through the various phases of its development the true nature of created things could be fully known and expressed. But if culture was not established on a firm basis then it would dwindle away, its very foundations would be shaken and it would confer no benefit on later generations.

To Chao this was what had happened, and literature seeking to base itself solely on considerations of stylistic excellence

> "looking for what is fundamental in that which is superficial"[40]

had become not an abiding instrument of the Way or even a valuable ingredient in the cultural process, but a functionless pastime. Moral corruption was the cause, and further moral corruption the result:[41]

> "To run counter to what is fundamental without misgiving, to abandon the Way without shame, leads to licence and falsity and utterly obscures true Confucian principles. When one desires by such methods to give full expression to the true nature of created things and to

bring to maturity the precepts of benevolence and righteousness the observance of the Rites and the practise of Music, it is as though Hsi K'o[42] were adopting the conduct of Chang Wan[43] I can see no difference."[44]

The remedy therefore lay not in a revision of style but in a change of heart:

"Someone said to me: 'The foundation of the literature of old was made firm by the sages and the worthies; nowadays there are none such, - how are we to achieve this?' I replied: 'Sages and worthies are not necessarily found only in antiquity - they exist to-day. They were, after all, only men. That in which their virtue consisted was their rightmindedness. For they were benevolent and righteous, acted in accordance with the rites, were wise and trustworthy, filial and fraternal, and thus became sages. They manifested in their writings the principles by which they were governed and transmitted their teachings to ten thousand generations without falling into obscurity, because they based themselves firmly on what was fundamental. Now at present men study the writings of antiquity but do not seek out the ancient way of benevolence and righteousness. On the contrary they say to themselves: "We are not sages and cannot achieve this." This is indeed to abandon a project halfway, to do violence to Confucian principles and to become the creature of corrupt teachings.'

"When the ancients set about spreading their doctrines throughout the Empire they began by consolidating their own domestic affairs; to do this they had to rectify their own persons, which necessitated the control of their own minds; this could only be done by establishing their principles on a firm basis. After this had been done they were able to formulate their ideas in literature without fear of their principles being defamed or superseded, for their intentions and their actions prospered mutually. And if you say that this is no ethical system, I shall

> assert that it is. But if you cannot see your way to emulate the sages, then it were better that you were blind. For a blind man who does not study the way of the sages is bereft of wisdom and learning; but although he is without means of acquiring these things at least he does not do violence to Confucian doctrines, or commit an outrage against the teachings of the sages.
>
> "Alas that men establish themselves on so infirm a basis! They are indeed fortunate if they do not deteriorate to the level of the beasts. How much the less are they able to teach others, let alone to transmit their teachings to after generations.
>
> "And if anyone should say to me, 'Those to-day who discuss the fundamentals of literature sometimes differ from yourself, how is this?' - then I should reply, 'Since Han Yü and Liu Tsung-yüan are dead, it is not surprising that others speak differently from myself.'" 44A

The coupling of Han Yü with Liu Tsung-yüan in an ethical context is a feature characteristic of a number of the early Sung followers of the ku-wên movement, whose professions of Confucianism were conservative rather than immaculate[45] and who do not appear to have been disturbed by Liu Tsung-yüan's Buddhist leanings.[46]

It occurs again for example in the works of Wang Yü-ch'êng[47] who appears to have been as much a literary purist as a champion of ethical reform, and offset the disadvantages which accrued from his support of the ku-wên movement by enjoying a considerable reputation as

a writer of p'ien-wên. Nevertheless he deplored and condemned current literary habits and urged a return to the models of antiquity, attacking with equal vigour both the vacuity of contemporary p'ien-wên, and the well-meaning but misguided followers of ku-wên who, overlooking the aim of the movement and misunderstanding the true nature of the style they were attempting to re-establish,[48] identified ku-wên with crudity and felt it imperative to disrupt the syntax, overthrow and distort the balance of tones and rhymes, destroy parallelism and make use of eccentricities.[49]

This, in Wang's mind, was precisely what must not happen. The business of the sage was to enlighten men's minds through the transmission of the Way, and because of the perishability of the spoken word he resorted to literature. Why, then should he wish the words and the meaning to be difficult? - What method could those writers hope for, who abandoned the classics?[50]

Moreover, to imitate merely the language of the classics and to call this ku-wên - i.e. to make indiscriminate use of Confucian clichés - was equally misguided.[51]

As a result of the enmity which his outspoken criticisms aroused, Wang Yü-ch'êng spent a good deal of his career away from Court, but in spite of this he gathered

round him a small following of ku-wên advocates, which included Sun Ho,[52] Li Ti,[53] and the Sung brothers.[54]

It was, however, not Wang's followers who were mainly responsible for carrying the attempted reforms of Liu K'ai[55] and Chao Hsiang one stage farther, but Hu Yüan, Shih Chieh,[56] and Sun Fu.[57] These three men lived together in retirement for a considerable period, expounding the classics to a fairly large following and gaining the reputation of being the leading teachers of the Ming Tao and Ching Yü periods (1034-38).[58]

It was largely due to their efforts that the ku-wên movement advanced to the more active stage of handing on its tradition through the re-establishment of schools. The campaign for the rehabilitation of schools, does not seem to have been actively sponsored by the government until 1038,[59] when Jên Tsung instituted the practice of makings grants of land for the establishment and upkeep of schools.[60] Thus during the Ching Yü period (1038-42) grants varying from 100 to 1,000 mou[61] were given in the various chou.

Hu Yüan's method of teaching was adopted for use in these schools and also in the T'ai Hsüeh where standards of teaching had for some time been at a very low level.[62]

Hu himself was in charge of schools in Hu-chou[63] and Su-chou[64], where he endeavoured to re-establish the study of the classics on a sound basis and generally to transfer attention from form to content.[65]

One of Hu Yüan's followers, Liu I,[65A] outlined his master's teachings as follows:

> "I have heard that in the Way of the sages there was substance, practical application and literature. The relationship between the ruler and his minister and between father and son, the principles of benevolence and righteousness, the rites and music, all of which have remained unalterable throughout the passage of generations, - these form the substance. The Odes, the Book of History, the histories and biographies, the philosophers and the collected writers which transmit laws for later generations, - these are the literature. To adopt their teachings and to spread them abroad throughout the Empire so as to benefit the people and lead them back to the highest perfection of the ways of the former kings - this is the practical application."[66]

These views are reiterated by Shih Chieh in a letter to Chao Hsiang:[67]

> "It is essential that literature of all kinds should be based upon the principles of civilising by means of education,[67A] and of Benevolence and Righteousness and have their roots in the rites and music, in punishment and government, (i.e. these are the substance) before being embodied in words, (i.e. the literature of the classics). Then the greatest will bring the way of the emperors and princes into the homes of the people, and by this means strengthen the man's spiritual nature and extend its influence to all created things. The lesser will determine the duties of the hundred officials, harmonize Yin[68] and Yang[69] and regulate the four seasons and by this

> means, extend the influence of the sovreign's virtue and maintain peace throughout the Empire, (i.e. this is the practical application)."[70]

It was with Shih Chieh that the real revolt against p'ien-wên began. In the letter quoted above Shih expressed Chao's own sentiments[71], deploring that contemporary writers cared for nothing but skilful parallelism and complexity of tone and rhyme; they expended their talents on superficial trifles to their own detriment and the neglect of ethical principles, cultural observances and the conduct of good government. Rounding on the Hsi K'un School in an essay entitled "A discussion of Abnormalities"[72] he utilised to the full his powers of vituperative criticism, mercilessly lashing the writers of the p'ien-wên group for the decadence of their literature, the corruption of their principles and the laxity of their conduct. Other writers before him had expressed their admiration for Han Yü and directed their efforts towards a revival of the principles he had advocated: but Shih Chieh gave the first real resuscitation of the nationalistic, anti-heretical sentiments by which Han Yü himself had been inspired.[73] Like Han Yü before him and Ou-yang Hsiu later,[74] he traced all degeneration and corruption to the spread of Buddhism. From criticism on these grounds he passed to a condemnation

of the habits of the p'ien-wên writers which directly or indirectly, served to alienate men's sympathies from a proper moral code.

> "Heaven earth and man are established (in their proper functions) each account to unchanging principles. Anything which runs counter to these principles is regarded as an unnatural occurrence.
>
> "It is the constant law of heaven that the three luminaries should emit light and that the four seasons should successively complete their regular courses. When the sun or moon suffers an eclipse or the five planets are deflected from their orbits this is an unnatural occurrence.
>
> "It is a constant law of earth that the five peaks should stand firmly rooted and that the four watercourses should flow freely. For the mountains to collapse and the waters to cease flowing would be an unnatural occurrence.
>
> "The principles by which ruler and minister are governed, postulate that the ruler should face south, and the minister north. The laws proper to the relationship between father and son rule that the father should be seated while the son stands. For the minister to oppose his ruler or the son to be hostile to his father, is an unnatural thing.
>
> "This Empire has always been ruled over by sages and inhabited by the four classes of people; it has ever been the focal point where men of talent and culture have assembled. When the hair is worn loosened and the lapels of the clothes lie to the left, when the people are not divided into the four classes of scholars, agricultural workers, artisans and merchants, and barbarian tribes overrun half the country, then this is an unnatural course of events.

"This Empire is governed through Tao and Tê, administered in accordance with the Rites and Music and ordered by the five constant virtues.

"For the influence of heretical dogmas to range throughout the Empire, for it to be pervaded by supernatural and illusory doctrines is an unnatural thing.

"The son of Heaven has seven courts for sacrifice, the nobles five, the high officials three, the scholars two; while the common people sacrifice in their own homes in order that they may not forget the principle of filial piety. To forget ones ancestors, to abandon the sacrifices, and serve the spirits of a barbarian religion is an unnatural occurrence.

"When a man transmits laws to the people, then sacrificial ceremonies are made in his honour; so also when a man serves his country until death or brings peace to it by means of his own labours: when he resists great calamities and wards off great evils. Hsieh[75] was able to cultivate the hundred kinds of grain and receives sacrifice as the spirit of the grain. Hou T'u[76] was able to pacify the hill regions and receives sacrifice as the spirit of the earth. Kao,[77] Yao, Shun, Yü,[77A] T'ang,[78] Wen[79] and Wu[80] are venerated by the people and when it comes to the sun, the moon, the stars and planets, these are things which the people regard with awe. The mountains, rivers, valleys and hills are things from which they draw benefit. Things other than these are not in the statutes governing the offering of sacrifices. When the Empire is filled with Taoist monasteries and Buddhist temples, this is an unnatural state of affairs.

"When a ruler of men sees a single eclipse, or observes one star extinguished; when rain or wind once occur out of season, or a tree or a blade of grass fails to flourish, then he may

know that these are unnatural occurrences of heaven or earth. Then he retires and lives alone, avoids luxurious food and dispenses with music; and in fear and awe, lays heavy responsibility upon himself, cultivating his moral powers in order to exorcise the evil.

"But when men destroy the proper relationship of ruler and minister, disrupt the relationship between father and son; abandon Tao and Tê, rebel against the prescriptions of Music and the Rites, violate the five constant virtues, disorganise the customary occupations of the people, vilify scholars of the Empire, abandon the teachings of their ancestors and subscribe to the heresies of barbarians, when ill-defined and uncanonical doctrines are put into practice and supernatural, illusory theories pervade the Empire; and men not only do this but do not even realise that this is an unnatural state of affairs, then since they cannot exorcise the evil, they pay homage to it.

"To forget family relationships, to abandon ones ancestors, reject ones parents, depart from established occupations, cut themselves off from cultural traditions and affect the religious habits of barbarians, without realising that this is unnatural, and, having accepted the evil, to venerate the heresy in it this is the greatest abnormality.

"Deplorable indeed are the manifold abnormalities of this country. Few indeed are the things at which men do not stand amazed. Alas if the sun once suffers an eclipse or a star once falls, heaven is less bright on account of it. If a mountain once collapses or a river once ceases to flow, the earth is disturbed because of it. But the abnormality of Buddhism and Taoism has been current for a thousand years, and for a thousand years corruption has been worming its way through this country. For how many more

thousands of years, will the abnormality of Buddhism and Taoism continue? To what state of corruption will this country decline? Into what obscurity will Yao and Shun, T'ang, Wên and Wu, Choukung and Confucius relapse?" 80A

Turning from generalities to a personal attack, Shih wrote:

"Formerly Professor of the Hanlin, Yang I wished to make his name venerated in the field of literature throughout the Empire; and he was disturbed that the Empire did not yet show complete faith in his principles. So he blindfolded the eyes of the Empire and stopped up its ears; causing the people to be blind, so that none should perceive the Way of Chou-kung, Confucius, Mencius, Yang Hsiung, Wang T'ung and Han Yu; and causing them to be deaf so that none should hear of these things. And after a time when the Way of these men was obliterated and forgotten, then he unveiled men's eyes and unsealed their ears, so that the Empire should perceive his way only, listen to his way only: and none realised his treachery.

"The Empire has followed the way of Yang I for forty years. Now there are to-day men who wish to bind the eyes of the Empire and stop up its ears, in order that the people may be blind and not see the way of Yang I exists; that they may be deaf and not hear that there is such a way as that of Yang I. And after a time, when the way of Yang I has been obliterated then others will unveil men's eyes and unseal their ears, so that they may hear and see only the Way of Chou-kung, Confucius, Mencius, Yang Hsiung and Wang T'ung. For their way was the way of Yao and Shun, of Yü, T'ang, Wên and Wu, the way of Heaven, earth and man, of the nine divisions and the five constant virtues.

"Anything which opposes these abiding things is an abnormality. Thus there is the great plan

of the Book of History, the various categories of poetry in the Odes. In the Spring and Autumn Annals are the principles of the sages: the Book of Changes has the diagrams of Wên Wang, the explanations of Chou kung and the ten appendices of Confucius.

"Now the extremist fabrications of Yang I which string out elegances and devise ornaments and go to excess in superficial skill and are compounded but of empty show, have mutilated the classics of the sages; destroyed their sayings; departed from their meaning and corrupted their principles, so that men no longer follow the method of the Book of History, the Odes, the Spring and Autumn Annals and the Book of Changes, but follow instead the way of Yang I.

"This is indeed an abnormality. And yet when men wish to abolish it and return to what is natural, the Empire regards it as strange and wonders at it. Alas!"81

Wang Yù-Ch'êng had criticised the unenlightened attempts of would-be exponents of ku-wên as leading to literary anarchy. Shih Chieh attributed much the same effect to the p'ien-wên writers:-

"Since Yang I disgorged licentious poems, and spitting out his own tones dislocated the correct tonal system of the Empire, forty years have gone by; and he has so confused and misled the people that they are blind and deluded, and have never heard that there is such a thing as the Odes."82

Shih Chieh's greatest hope was the advent of another Han Yü, and like Liu K'ai he rated Han Yü higher than Mencius

"The fourteen sages from Fu Hsi to Confucius found their perfectionment in Confucius; of the five

worthies from Mencius to Han Yü, Han Yü was the greatest. It cannot be known how many ages will pass before a Confucius rises again, nor how many more will pass before we see the birth of another Han Yü."83

"Alas, literature has long been in a state of decay. ..... The foundations of culture decay daily, petty arts flourish and men are increasingly separated from the sources of the true Way. Numerous schools have arisen and the Empire is confused and does not know to whom to give its allegiance. A degraded level of culture spreads and flaunts itself, an artificial and forced style is prevalent throughout the Empire, and contemporary writers do nothing to check it. Unnatural and perverse writings abound and no-one opposes them. Now the great Way is overgrown and blocked up and men can find no way through..... I have often thought that if men such as Han Yü or Mencius should arise and mow down the tares and weeds ..... the way would be cleared and freed from obstacles and men would follow straight along it to the Way of worthy men; not going by crooked paths or little by-ways, but keeping to the road."84

Like Liu K'ai, Shih insisted that criticism alone was not enough:

".....at the present time a profligate literature is harming our culture; current doctrines have become degenerate and corrupt and the only thing which can prevent a complete collapse and stave off this peril is to adopt the right Way..... Confucius says, 'To entrust your desires to empty words is not as good as manifesting them in action and publishing them clearly abroad.' If you really have the desire to act then I beg of you emulate Han Yü..... If you will speak your part prominently, we will accord with you in our humble way; if you will attack on the left, we will strike on the right; if you will push we will butt; how

> can we fail to be victorious over the masses and reform the corruption of countless years, and cause a literature to arise in Sung which shall flourish majestically, - comparable to that of the great dynasty of Han and sharing fame with that of mighty T'ang."[85]

Unfortunately for Shih Chieh, his constructive power was not sufficient for the work which he so vehemently desired to see accomplished - a fact which he himself recognised.

> "I have not the strength of Mencius or of Hsün-tzŭ, Yang Hsiung, Wên Chung-tzŭ or Han Yü," he wrote, "and I am incapable of effecting a restoration of such writings (i.e. the classics)."[86]

And so it proved to be. It was not from Sun Fu or Hu Yüan, nor yet from Shih Chieh that the Sung ku-wên movement proper derived, but from Mu Hsiu.[87] With Liu K'ai, Mu Hsiu was the focal point of early Sung ku-wên writing, but while Liu's influence ceased with his death, Mu Hsiu transmitted his through Yin Chu to Ou-yang Hsiu.

As has been seen, Liu, in his early career had been mainly concerned with stylistic matters and had coupled Han Yü and Liu Tsung-yüan together.[88] Later, when his attention became focussed on the ethical aspect of ku-wên he came to entertain an almost exclusive veneration for Han Yü.[89]

Mu Hsiu, too, seems initially to have been concerned with questions of style and accorded equal respect to

Han Yü and to Liu Tsung-yüan.

> "Heaven is indeed favourable to me. In the beginning it nourished me with Han Yü and later with Liu Tsung-yüan, and if you assert that Heaven does not thereby shew me special favour, this is untrue."90

Ultimately, however, for Mu also the orthodoxy of Han Yü outweighed the more catholic attractions of Liu Tsung-yüan, whose ethics, Mu realised, were not of a nature to benefit the ku-wên cause:

> "I have long been thinking about the ethics of Liu Tsung-yüan," he wrote, "and suspect that his principles are not suitable to enlighten the present age."91

In Mu's writings, moreover, his complaints over the degeneracy of contemporary prose style merges insensibly into a lament over the lapse from the ethical standards of former times, and his trend of thought is thus, by implication, towards Neo-Confucianism.[92]

> "The Way of the ancients has long since been abandoned. Writers of the present day practise and respect superficialities. If they are left without parallelism in word and tone they cannot adjust their eyes and ears; they travel in a rut and follow in a groove, treading in the footsteps of others and knowing no other way. If a man dares to stand alone among them and advocate ku-wên he is classed with the eccentrics. All men revile and defame him, regard him as perverted or point him out as a deceiver, saying that he turns his back on his age for the sake of enlarging his reputation, increasing his wealth and improving his status. Among his betters there is

> none who commends him; among his equals there is none who supports him; and if the least suspicion attached to him for not knowing his own mind, if he does not hold firmly to his principles and maintain his course inflexibly, then there is no-one who will not fear and doubt, draw back and reconsider and finally abandon him, and return to his opponents. Alas! The scholars of benevolence and righteousness are mainly to be found among the ancients - they are rare indeed to-day; and this is the result of the influence of general opinion, which sways and infects them so that they cannot follow the Way."93

With Mu Hsiu, as with a number of the ku-wên writers of early Sung times, the pugnacity and disinterestedness necessary for effective opposition to the p'ien-wên school were the very qualities which ultimately restricted the scope of his influence. He was, in addition, perverse and unconventional in his habits.

> "He was by nature upright and firm-willed, took a delight in keeping aloof from the commonplace, and was unwilling to adapt himself to the ways of ordinary men. There were many who sought his friendship, but he kept them at arm's length. He criticised fearlessly and minutely the evils of his time, and even his elders were afraid to hear him."94

They were equally reluctant to take the risk of recommending him for office. Nor was Mu willing to accept offers of assistance from those whose practices fell short of his own ideals, asserting that

> "I would rather make my living as a pedlar than that miscreants should have my writings."95

He died in extreme poverty in 1032 just as Ou-yang Hsiu, under the guidance of Mu's own follower, Yin Chu,[96] was emerging from a passive admiration for Han Yü to become the active and ultimately successful leader of the movement which gave effect to Han Yü's aims and established his reputation as the greatest of China's prose writers.

CHAPTER III

THE POSITION OF OU-YANG HSIU IN RELATION TO THE SUNG KU-WÊN MOVEMENT

It is against this background that the position of the young Ou-yang Hsiu must be considered; and in such a context the tradition that he was the protagonist of a literary revival and that this revival was immediately successful is palpably false.

Ou-yang Hsiu himself repeatedly contradicts the first of these assumptions:

> "Although he (Sŭ Tzŭ-mei) was my junior, yet I came after him in the practice of ku-wên. In the T'ien Sheng period (1023-1032 A.D.) .... only Su and his brother Ts'ai-weng[1] with Mu Hsiu were writing ku-wên. Contemporaries ridiculed them greatly, but Tzŭ-mei disregarded this. ..... Su alone wrote ku-wên at a time when it was not practised by other scholars, holding always to his own principles and never abandoning himself to vulgar practices."[2]

The assertion that 'Su alone wrote ku-wên' is, of course, an exaggeration, since Shih Chieh and his contemporaries were already doing so and as Hsiu was obviously well aware of this:

> "As for the composing of ku-wên, which some say was started by Shih-lu (i.e. Yin Chu), such men as Mu Hsiu and Chêng T'iao, with many other scholars of the great Sung Dynasty, were all

> earlier than he. I dare not assert that it started from Shih-lu."[3]

It was, however, under the influence of Yin Chu and his contemporaries at Lo-yang that Ou-yang Hsiu began to write ku-wên and embarked upon his task of collating the works of Han Yü:

> ".....I was posted to office in Lo-yang; Yin Chu and his followers were there, and with them I composed in the ku-wên style. Then I looked out my edition of Han Yü's works and edited them, enquiring of those who had old editions, and comparing and collating these. After this the scholars of the empire gradually reverted to the old style, and the writings of Han Yü gained popularity."[4]

Hsiu was not, however, the first of the Sung writers to attempt to produce an edition of Han Yü's works. Mu Hsiu had already spent many years on this task which was nearly completed by the time Ou-yang Hsiu went to Lo-yang.[5]

> "When I was young," wrote Mu, "I read avidly of the works of these two writers (Han Yü and Liu Tsung-yüan) and frequently deplored that no complete copy of Liu Tsung-yuan's works was to be found at that time. Those of his writings which were in circulation amounted only to some hundred sections.[6] Han Yü's works, on the other hand, were complete, yet when it came to defects and omissions - lost characters and missing sentences - his works were worse than those of any other writer. And so I set my heart on making good the deficiencies and putting the text in good order so that it might be handed on to others. I was frequently in contact with people who were interested in the matter and I sought out reliable editions of which I obtained altogether

> a considerable number. Whenever I found a superior passage or character, I would comment or amend it. Whenever I travelled, if the journey was long and I was not able to take many books with me, I always took the works of Han Yü. And when I heard of people who had a good edition I borrowed it and made corrections from it. Altogether I spent more than twenty-four years on this work and practically completed it."

It is most curious that Ou-yang Hsiu, who worked in close contact with Mu Hsiu's pupil, Yin Chu, does not appear to mention Mu's efforts to establish an edition of Han Yü's works. Yin Chu can hardly have been ignorant of the matter and it is difficult to think that when Ou-yang Hsiu began a similar task Yin Chu remained silent. Moreover, Hsiu was in correspondence with another of Mu's pupils, Tsu Tsê-chih[7], at least as early as 1040.[8] Ou-yang Hsiu's post-face to his own edition of Han Yü's works was written at a much later date (c. 1060 A.D.) but in it he makes no mention of the work done by Mu.

There is thus no evidence to show whether Hsiu knew of Mu's work on Han Yü or not. It is, however, abundantly clear both from his own statements and from his writings at this period that in spite of his early enthusiasm for Han Yü, he was not, in fact, writing ku-wên when he went to Lo-yang in his twenty-fourth year.

His activities in this field appear to have begun

during the year 1032 when Ch'ien Wei-yen built a pavilion in Lo-yang and asked both Ou-yang Hsiu and Yin Chu to compose a 'record'[9] for it. When Hsiu's composition was completed it ran into more than a thousand words. Yin Chu read it and commented,

"I could have written this in five hundred words."

Hsiu revised the work in accordance with Yin Chu's criticism, and from that time on

"started to write ku-wên."[10]

Unfortunately neither of these compositions survives so that comparison is impossible. Hsiu has left a short poem describing the pavilion.[11]

Prior to this Hsiu had been writing a rather heavy and uncontrolled prose in which passages of strict p'ien-wên are followed by or interspersed with phrases of free prose.[12]

One reason for this is, perhaps, the fact that the works of the early period include a number of 'begging' letters (requests for patronage for example), examination papers and other semi-official documents, in which the style was in part dictated by the circumstances and which are therefore not a reliable basis for judgment. The few non-official works of this period, however, also give every

indication that until Hsiu came into contact with the cultural influences of Lo-yang his style was crude and unformed, - a defect which, as Hsiu himself realised, was partly due to the lack of expert guidance.

> "It is imperative that in study one should have a master", he wrote after a year at Lo-yang.[13]

The output of the Lo-yang period is not large. The death of his wife and the departure of Mei Yao-chen from Lo-yang made him disinclined to write.

> "Since you left," he wrote to Mei, nearly a year after the latter's departure, "I have written no poems."[14]

Nevertheless, in contrast to the output of his later career, there is a predominance of poetical over prose writings during this period. He was already making a considerable reputation for himself as a writer of t'zŭ,[15] and wrote a good number of pieces in the shorter poetic forms, such as shih-shih,[16] ku-shih,[17] yüeh-fu,[18] ku-fu,[19] and so on.[20] In addition, he produced a number of fu[21] and records,[22] inscriptions,[23] prefaces and letters.[24] In the second year of Ming Tao (1034) he also wrote one or two colophons.[25]

These writings differ as considerably from the few stilted products of the pre-Lo-yang period as they do from the mature compositions of Hsiu's later years. In

spite of being occasionally emotional and introspective they have a naive and youthful charm and while there is nothing of a weighty or scholastic nature it is evident that both mind and pen were responding to the stimulus of the new environment.

It is mainly in the letters written during the years 1034-6 that the craftsmanship and the expressive vigour which characterise the later prose become perceptible. Hsiu left altogether some five hundred letters,[26] and this extensive correspondence began during the Lo-yang period. From the point of view of style there is no doubt that the most mature production of the years under review was the letter written to Kao Jo-no on the occasion of Fan Chung-yen's dismissal.[27] This work is not concerned with technical analysis; a study of some of Hsiu's writings at this period and a comparison with works of the same genre by his contemporaries who were already writing ku-wên would undeniably prove fruitful from this point of view. It may however be remarked here that this letter is marked by an almost complete absence of parallelism with its accompanying burden of allusion; a considerable lengthening of phrase is noticeable[28] and phrases of irregular length offset one another to give an effect of much greater flexibility and vigour.

For Hsiu, however, as for most of the early Sung ku-wên writers, stylistic questions were subordinate to ethical considerations; and it is clear that his objections to p'ien-wên rested on this basis.

> "If the p'ien-wên style[29] were at all compatible with the expression of ethical principles[30] there would be no need to condemn it; so that (on literary grounds) I neither approve the one (i.e. ku-wên) nor condemn the other (i.e. p'ien-wên)."[31]

This was written later (1049), but there is no reason to suppose that Hsiu ever radically changed his views, or that they differed essentially from those of his contemporaries who wrote ku-wên.

As to the relation of content to style and the proper function of literature, Hsiu expresses in a letter written in 1034[32] views strongly reminiscent of the principles enumerated earlier by Chao Hsiang with their Neo-Confucian bias,[33] and also sets out for the first time in his own writings the orthodox ku-wên view, derived from Han Yü, of the decline of literature consequent upon the separation of form from content, from the time when the fu form began to achieve popularity.[34]

> "Words are to give adequate expression to one's ideas; and composition to give adequate power to one's words. Without words who could know one's thoughts; without elegant composition of the words they will not go far."[35]

The function of literature was, in Hsiu's view, to transmit

from one generation to another the cultural and ethical inheritance of antiquity, i.e. "to civilise by means of instruction".[36] The written word was the means by which affairs and events were recorded. Style was that by which the word was adorned. Only when the matter is trustworthy, the style adequate and the subject of importance could writings survive. Otherwise they were entirely at the mercy of contemporary likes and dislikes. It was because the sages of antiquity knew well how to formulate their arguments in a suitable literary form that they were able to transmit their teachings unimpaired to later generation

Hsiu makes a sudden transition from the juxtaposition words-style to that of words-ethics implying the view of the dependence of literary style upon ethical content characteristic of the later Neo-Confucian writers. This view he gives more explicitly in another letter:

> "Among the scholars (of the present day) there is none who did not begin by endeavouring to carry out true principles: but those who have achieved this are few. It is not that the Way is far removed from men, but that the scholars have that by which they are obsessed. In the writing of literature there is that which is difficult of achievement but can be delighted in, and that which brings easy pleasure and self-satisfaction. The scholars of the present time are frequently obsessed (by the latter). Once they have attained a certain skill they say 'I have learnt enough' and the worst of them will go so far as to abandon all public

> affairs as being of no consequence to them, saying 'I am a scholar, my office is solely with letters.' That is the reason why so few of them achieve the true Way. ..... Although the writings of the sages cannot be equalled yet nevertheless those who achieve the Way write without difficulty and perfect themselves.
>
> "..... Such men as Yang Hsiung[37] and Wang T'ung[38] strove to imitate the ancients but they were men who persisted in expressing themselves in words although their achievement of the Way was inadequate. And those of later ages who are deceived in this matter take note only of the written word transmitted from former times and consider that the only subject for study is literature. Thus the more they exert themselves the farther they are from achieving perfection."[39]

If it is evident that ethical considerations were of major importance to Hsiu and to other early Sung ku-wên writers, it is also clear that both he and they were influenced, from a doctrinal point of view, not so much by Han Yü as by other elements which had increasingly invaded the territory of Confucianism, and which were later synthethised in the doctrines of the Neo-Confucian school. This was, of course, inevitable, since the Sung writers were faced with the problem of effecting a revival of Confucian principles which would provide a code of ethics and a system of cosmology adequate to answer the questions posed by the developments - in particular the spread of Buddhism - of the post-Han period and yet remain true to

to their canonical ideals.

Here again, the problem of the Sung writers differed from that of Han Yü and his contemporaries. Buddhism presented a lively problem to the latter and their attempt to meet it by a revival of 'pure' Confucianism were only partly successful. The Sung ku-wên writers, some hundred and fifty years later, inherited the modified Confucianism of the mid-T'ang period further adulterated in the interim by additional borrowings from Buddhism and Taoism.[40] Nor were they by any means always conscious of these influence Thus, while Mu Hsiu evidently distinguished between the principles of Han Yü[41] and those of Liu Tsung-yüan, Hsiu appears to be unaware of the discrepancies between the Confucianism of Han Yü - itself somewhat unorthodox - and the ethics of Han Yü's contemporaries and followers in the ku-wên field, in particular of Li Ao, whose tendencies were markedly Quietist.[42]

Hsiu first obtained a copy of Li Ao's works while he was in Lo-yang.[43] He wished to read Li Ao's biography of Ou-yang Tan,[44] who had been a friend of Han Yü.[45] This biography was missing from the collection, but Hsiu began to study Li Ao's other writings, and he so far failed to to discern the radical difference between the teachings of Han Yü and the principles upheld by Li Ao that he dismissed

the Fu-hsing fu[46] as an exposition of the Chung yung[47] of such an orthodox and self-evident nature that it need never have been written.[48]

For certain of Li Ao's other works, however, Hsiu conceived an admiration which caused him to make adverse criticism of Han Yü on ethical grounds. After reading the Yü-huai fu[49] he remarked:

> "Han Yü also wrote a fu; in this he praised only the glory and the splendour of two birds, and grieved that he himself was uncertain even of a good meal.50 If his heart was satisfied with these sentiments we may assume that if Han Yü had achieved fame and wealth this fu would never have been written. Li Ao was of a different calibre. In fu (i.e. Yü-huai fu) he says, 'Men live together in a noisy multitude and only deplore old age and mourn their lowly lot. I am of a different mind. I grieve that I fall short in the application of Confucian principles.'"51

This is indeed a far cry from Hsiu's earlier remark concerning Han Yü that

> "scholars need read no farther than this",52

but that this criticism was not entirely unjustified is borne out by Han Yü's own essay on the nature and function of literature,[53] expressing views from which Hsiu differed fundamentally from the outset of his career.

> "I have frequently observed that famous men of former ages, when faced with the duty of discussing public affairs were so carried away by their feelings that they did not shirk their duty even to the point of death. But those who

> really seemed to know the meaning of righteousness when they arrived at their place of exile, overwhelmed by great grief and sorrow and well-nigh unbearable poverty, in formulating their thoughts in writing did not differ in their joys and sorrows from ordinary men. Even Han Yü himself did not avoid this."54

Hsiu's view that the source from which true literary inspiration flowed was not lack of equilibrium but, on the contrary, the achievement and maintenance of complete equilibrium regardless of external circumstances - in other words that the success of literary efforts depended on the extent of a man's ability to absorb ethical (i.e. Confucian) principles - is representative of the general trend of contemporary ku-wên sentiment and indicates the direction in which the philosophical exponents of the style were moving. How was it that Hsiu alone was successful in the attempt to re-establish the ku-wên movement, whereas the endeavours of his predecessors and contemporaries failed, although inspired by the same ideals?

There are several important factors to be considered apart from Hsiu's superiority of talent. Moreover, it is evident that his efforts, though ultimately successful, were by no means as immediately effective as they are generally assumed to have been, or as he himself occasionally implies.

It was not until later, during the second period of

Hsiu's career which may be dated from 1040 to 1056, that p'ien-wên began to give way to the growing forces of the ku-wên movement.[56]

Hsiu's early activities, like those of his predecessors, were interrupted by a period of exile[57] during which he was in no position to extend his influence beyond the restricted sphere in which it was already active. When he returned to the capital in 1040 it was to be reinstated in his former post as Collator of Texts and it was not until 1044, after another term in the provinces, that he received an appointment of any importance.[58]

Meanwhile authority was in the hands of the p'ien-wên group, and the growth of the ku-wên movement was hampered by lack of official support. An imperial edict had in fact been issued as early as 1030 condemning the degenerate literary tendencies apparent in the papers of candidates for the chin shih degree and ordering that steps should be taken to counteract them:

> "I examine the scholars of the Empire by means of their writings" this edict ran "and from these I observe the general cultural bias. Recently a degenerate tendency has become apparent, which has gone so far that candidates merely heap up trivialities and dismember the writings of former times, vying with each other to produce pompous and elaborate compositions which are useless in the conduct of government and the maintenance

> of proper principles. This is not what I look for from the candidates. Let the Board of Rites command that hereafter students devote themselves to the elucidation of the principles of the Sages of antiquity, and bring their practices in to conformity with my intention."58A

Of this edict, Hsiu remarked

> "The Son of heaven being distressed at the corruption of contemporary literature issued an edict .... ordering scholars to conform more nearly to the style of antiquity. From this time onwards the corrupt style gradually fell into disuse and scholars returned little by little to the style of antiquity."59

In spite of this assertion, however, it is doubtful whether the edict had any effect either on the course of the examinations or on the trend of literature in general. Certainly it did not hasten official adoption of the ku-wên style. When Hsiu was appointed to the examinership for the chin shih degree in 1056 he was the first ku-wên writer to hold that post,[60] while as late as 1068 Ssŭ-ma Kuang refused an official appointment on the grounds that he could not reconcile his conscience to the practice of composing official documents in the 6-4 style. Permission was then given for the composing of edicts

> "in the style of the two Han periods."61

Slow as the development was, however, it might well have been delayed much longer had not Hsiu's career begun

at a point which was chronologically favourable, coinciding as it did with a period in which the brilliance of the p'ien-wên school had already begun to fade.[62] As has been pointed out, his ku-wên predecessors, whose influence in official circles was either non-existent or reduced during part of the whole of their careers to inconsiderable proportions, had to combat the full vigour and authority of the talented leaders of the p'ien-wên school backed by a formidable array of writers from the immediate post-Han Yü period down to the beginning of the Sung dynasty itself.

When Ou-yang Hsiu took up office in Lo-yang in 1031, Yang I had been dead for eleven years, Liu Yün was probably dead[63] and Ch'ien Wei-yen died only three years later. The other members of the Hsi-K'un School were either dead or in retirement. The literary coterie at Lo-yang - still the cultural centre of the Empire - consisted of officials whose aspirations and endeavours were similar to Hsiu's own. These men were, like Hsiu, young and lacking in influence and for them, as for him, a period of incubation was necessary. Nevertheless, their combined activities formed an encouraging and helpful background for Hsiu's untutored talent. It is

clear from the correspondence that passed between them that a free interchange of writings went on, and from this Hsiu undoubtedly profited; and ultimately he had an advantage over them all, for they laboured for the ku-wên cause and not infrequently adopted the means uninspired by the spirit - which resulted in a tendency to the prosaic and led to a certain aridity in their writings. Hsiu, on the other hand, having once outgrown his initial awkwardness,"wrote ku-wên by nature" and his talent surpassed theirs as swiftly as it in turn was surpassed by that of his own brilliant following.

Hsiu has been variously extolled as one of the greatest p'ien-wên writers of his time[65] and criticised for ruining the p'ien-wên style altogether.

Both comments - suitably modified - are relevant. Hsiu was not a bigoted reformer who refused all forms of compromise.[66] He had poetic sensibilities which responded delightedly to the rhythmical cadences of balanced prose.[67] But he had also a robust sense that lasting human values, in literature as in everything else, were built on a more solid foundation than that of technical skill and superficial elegance, and it was these values which he was concerned to preserve. He aimed not at the abolition of p'ien-wên but at the liberation of writing

from the tyranny of formalism. The resultant amalgam, from a literary point of view, was one in which free prose blended with balanced phrases of much greater length than had hitherto been usual,[68] and the compressed and allusive 6-4 style was used very sparingly.

None of the Sung prose writers, perhaps, achieved the closely-knit vigour which is so striking a feature of the works of Han Yü, but they created a flexible and expressive style by means of which they were ultimately able to effect that which Han Yü had so ardently desired, and which was the real raison d'être of the ku-wên movement - a revival of Confucian learning in which literature was the servant of ethics.

CHAPTER IV

UNRESOLVED PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THESIS

Part I. Biographical

The present thesis, surveying as it does fields which have so far been neglected, raises many problems which do not fall within its scope, some of them of a far-reaching nature.

1. The historical and economic background of the early years of the reign of Jên Tsung (1023-64) have been outlined here only in so far as they impinged upon the immediate developments of Ou-yang Hsiu's career, - and a young man from a remote country district endeavouring to secure a foothold in officialdom is not very intimately related to the major political trends and events of an imperial court. That the eruption of such minor officials as Hsiu and his colleagues into this sphere made as much impression as it did is due partly to the highly personal and domestic lines on which the affairs of the Court were then administered.

This is a characteristic of the Sung Court which should be considered in relation to a wider and weightier context. The Classical period of China's history closed with the downfall of the Northern Sung dynasty in 1126 and from its

ruins modern China gradually emerged. Northern Sung stood at the parting of the ways and from the beginning carried within itself the instruments of its own destruction. A detailed survey of this beginning, particularly of the faction-torn reign of Jên Tsung would undoubtedly contribute a good deal to an understanding of later developments which have so far been discussed largely without reference to the events from which they originated.[1] The nucleus of such a survey for the T'ien Shêng, Ming Tao and Ching Yü periods (1023-1038) is one of the by-products of this thesis and material is thus available on which a beginning might be made.

2. Further, the sources furnish ample evidence that economic conditions during this period were in a very critical state. The effects of corruption and maladministration were aggravated by the frequency and severity of natural calamities, and China's foreign relations were costly. Much valuable work could be done in this field from official documents, but it was, as usual, the peasants who suffered most, and their history has not been systematically recorded. The writings of Hsiu's contemporaries are not only fertile fields for further biographical, literary, and historical research, but might

well furnish information on economic and social matters which officialdom was either ignorant of or found it expedient to neglect.

3. Another problem by which the student of Chinese is beset in almost every field is the translation of official titles. Students of the T'ang period are indebted to M. Robert des Rotours for his researches into this question and the student of the Sung dynasty can benefit considerably from them. The functions attaching to these titles however, varied from dynasty to dynasty, and similar research for the Sung period would be of great value.

Part II. Literary.

In the literary field also the investigation of major issues is long overdue.

A survey of the development of the ku-wên movement as a whole can only be satisfactorily made by synthesising the results obtained from detailed studies of the works of individual writers. The survey given in this thesis is drawn from a general and partial study of the works of a number of writers; its conclusions accordingly suffer from the deficiencies inherent in such a method. Nevertheless without some survey of the whole, no satisfactory

estimate can be made of any part.

The following points, which have been touched on in the text, merit closer attention:-

1. The extent and importance of the influence of Wang T'ung.[2]

Doubts have been expressed as to Wang's existence but these would appear to be somewhat ill-founded. The following sources are relevant:-

Chung kuo jên ming ta tz'ŭ tien 中國人名大辭典

Chung kuo wên hsüeh chia ta tz'ŭ tien 中國文學家大辭典

Li tai ming jên nien p'u 歷代名人年譜

Pu Wen Chung-tzu chuan 補文中子傳
by Ssŭ-ma Kuang. 司馬光

Ssŭ ku ta tz'ŭ tien 四庫大辭典
ed: Yang Chia-lo. (Nanking 1935). 楊家駱

Wên Chung-tz'ŭ shih chia 文中子世家
by Tu Yen. 杜淹

Giles, Biographical Dictionary.

Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period.
by Arthur Hummel.

He has no biography of his own, having died out office at age of thirty-five, but is mentioned in the two T'ang Shu[4] in the biographies of Wang Chih,[3] Wang Po[5] and Wang Chi. He is also mentioned in the Fu ling chu chuan[6] of Wang Chi and in a letter to Wang Chi, Ch'ên Shu-ta[8] remarks that Wên Chung-tzu, fearing that the literature of later ages would deteriorate into artificiality and pastiche and that the classical writings would fall into obscurity, endeavoured to revive interest in them in order to restore unity and homogeniety to literature.

Again Liu Kuei-mêng[9] says that

> "Formerly Wên Chung-tzŭ lived in the Sui Dynasty and realising that the Way of the sages was falling into disuse he went into retirement to cultivate the way of life of the worthy men of old."

Ssŭ-k'ung T'u[10] and P'i Jih-hsiu[11] both wrote obituary notices[12] for Wang T'ung. Yang Tung in Wang Tzŭ-an chi hsù[13] says:

> "Wên Chung-tzŭ lived at Lung-mên and edited the classics in order to praise the followers of Confucius."

The comments of all these writers seem to testify to the fact that Wang, whoever he may have been, not only existed but that his reputation in the field of Confucian scholarship stood high.

The authorship and dating of the text of the Chung shuo has similarly been the subject of much discussion. It has been variously attributed to Yuan I,[14] to Tu Yen[15] and to Wang's younger brother or to his sons.[16][17] The latter is of course by no means improbable, but the dating of the text seems to be a question of greater importance, particularly since it rules out the first two suggestions of authorship.

The Chung shuo is referred to in the obituary notice by P'i Jih-hsiu (c. 881) and Ssŭ-k'ung T'u (837-908) mentioned above. It is included in the T'ang shu i wên chih,[18] which was presented in 945 A.D.[19] Li Ao (d. 844) and Liu Fên[20] (d. 838) compared it to the six classics. It therefore appears that, whoever its author may have been, the Chung shuo was at least an early T'ang text.

As to Wang's influence on his contemporaries and on later ku-wên writers, Han Yü appears to have ignored him, but Han Yü's unorthodox follower, Li Ao, admired him greatly. Nearly all the late T'ang and early Sung ku-wên writers - P'i Jih-hsiu,[21] Liu K'ai,[22] Shih Chieh,[23] and Mu Hsiu,[24] included him in their literary hierarchy and compared him favourably with Han Yü. Ou-yang Hsiu, who admired the ethics of Li Ao, mentioned Wang only once and

then to revile him as unorthodox.[25] The early Neo-Confucian writers regarded him as a model of orthodoxy and held him in great respect.[26] A translation of the Chung Shuo and a comparison of its principles with those of the ku-wên and Neo-Confucian writers of the early Sung period might do much to confirm the nature and indicate the continuity and development of the movement.

2. The same function can, of course, be fulfilled by a study of a number of lesser-known ku-wên writers of T'ang and Sung times.[27] Liu Mien, for instance, has been completely neglected. He has left very little - two or three obituary notices and appreciations, a fu and some ten letters of which six were written for the specific purpose of discussing the nature and function of literature, while the remainder also include comments relevant to this subject. Small though this output is, it reveals quite clearly that Liu Mien had in fact got to the heart of the ku-wên movement even before the emergence of Han Yü.

Further, Liu's comments are not only valuable in this connection, they point forward to a highly important issue.

3. That which Liu had deplored was the gradual separation in literature of form from ethical content[28] and it was, of course, the business of ku-wên to re-unite them. The events of the T'ang ku-wên movement were repeated in the Sung dynasty on an increasingly large scale, and the question of the relation of form to content expanded into and subserved the wider issue of the relation of ethics to politics.

The ultimate result of the ku-wên movement, operating through the activities of the three Sung Schools (of which there was a foreshadowing, albeit fortuitous, in Liu Mien's tripartite division of literary development)[29] was not a re-fusion of these two elements, but, (particularly after the downfall of Northern Sung in 1126) a complete schism, -- Confucianism eventually being established in isolation from the activities which it had initially sought to govern. Some remarks by M. Georges Margouliès are relevant to this question. Of the effects of the ku-wên movement he says:

> "On peut y voir encore une consequence de la reform qui faisant de la littérature une étude speciale et serieuse, posant le principe de l'imitation des classiques a ainsi affaibli son caractere de reaction immediate aux evenements de la vie publique et lui a cree un domain a part."[30]

The views of Liu Mien - which are, in addition, so similar

in many respects to those of Han Yü - form one of the many links in this chain of development.

4. The ku-wên movement did not receive all its support from those who were primarily prose writers. According to Chinese historians,[31] some of the well-known poets also were its advocates, for example Li Po,[32] Tu Fu,[33] Po Chü-i[34] and Yüan Chên.[35] Ou-yang Hsiu's contemporary Mei Yao-chên who was primarily a poet, was also an active champion of ku-wên. His prose-writings are unfortunately lost.

5. Much of the quality of Han Yü's writings and aims derives from his personal circumstances and his own personality but it might, nevertheless, be profitable to study the writings of those to whom he acknowledges indebtedness, - Tu-ku Chi,[36] Liang Su[37] and Ch'ên Tzu-ang.[38]

6. Similarly, an investigation of the works of Liu Tsung-yüan[39] and Li Ao[40] would probably illuminate the complex question of the influences at work in early Sung Confucianism. This question has been dealt with from various aspects,[41] but so far the approach has not been made through the works of individual writers to those of their followers.

7. The rehabilitation of schools in early Sung times is an important question for which considerable material is

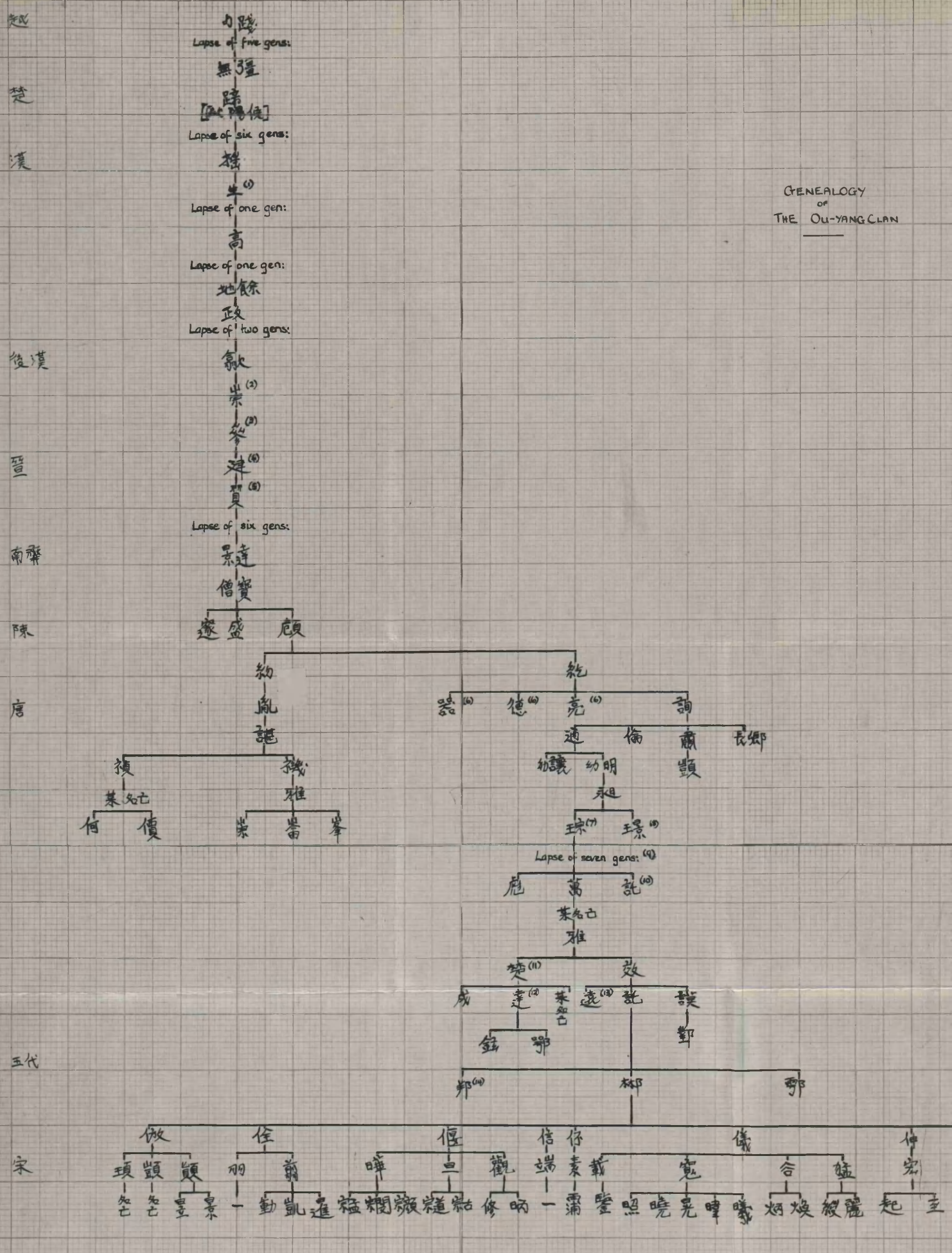
is available. From remarks made by P'i Jih-hsiu[42] it would appear that the teaching methods in Buddhist institutions were greatly superior to any employed in Confucian circles.

8. There appears to be only a very tenuous connection between the initial protest against p'ien-wên by Yao Ts'ai[43] and the ku-wên movement of Northern Chou. Similarly, the relation, if any, between the Northern Chou movement and the activities of the Sui and early T'ang ku-wên writers is somewhat obscure.

Clearly these are all questions which cannot be treated merely as by-products. They are outlined here in the hope that other research students may be persuaded to investigate them.

APPENDIX A.

GENEALOGY of THE OU-YANG CLAN



NOTES TO GENEALOGICAL TABLE

1. Ou-yang Shêng. 歐陽生

   Relationship to Yao (搖) uncertain.

   See Ch'ien Han Shu, Ju-lin chuan. ch.88.
   (前漢書：儒林傳：卷八十八)

2. Ou-yang Ch'ung. 歐陽崇

   Relationship to Wêng (翁) uncertain.

   See Hou Han Shu, Sun Ch'i chuan, ch.108.
   (後漢書：孫期傳：卷一百九

3. Ou-yang Ts'an. 歐陽參

   Relationship to Wêng uncertain.

4. Ou-yang Chien. 歐陽建

   A descendant of Yao. Exact relationship uncertain.

5. Ou-yang Chih. 歐陽質

   Nephew of Chien.

6. The Hsin T'ang Shu tsai hsiang shih shih piao (新唐書宰相世系表) gives Ch'i (琦) Tê (德) Liang (亮) as sons of Yüeh (約) and not of Ho (紇).

7. Exact relationship uncertain. Tsung (琮) is certainly a descendant in the third generation from T'ung (通). According to the T'u shu chi ch'êng (圖書集成) however, Ch'ang (昶) had only one son who is given as Tsung. The Hsin T'ang Shu tsai hsiang shih shih piao on the other hand gives two sons of Ch'ang, as shewn. There are no records of any descendants of Yu Jang (幼讓).

8. See above.

9. From Tsung onwards Ou-yang Hsiu records a lapse of eight generations. Other sources, however, give the following:

Ou-yang Ch'ien. 歐陽倩

Relationship to the clan not known.

See Chiu T'ang Shu, P'ei Huai Ku chuan, ch.185.
(舊唐書：裴懷古傳：卷一百八十五)

Ou-yang Kuei. 歐陽珪

Relationship to the clan not known.

See Chiu T'ang Shu, Wang Hung chuan, ch.157.
(舊唐書：王玄冊傳：卷一百五十七)

Ou-yang Yung. 歐陽融

Relationship to the clan not known.

Ou-yang Tan. 歐陽詹

Relationship to the clan not known.

See Hsin T'ang Shu, ch.203.
(新唐書：卷二百三)

Ou-yang Chü . 歐陽矩

A nephew of Tan.

Ou-yang Kun. 歐陽袞

Relationship to the clan not known.

Ou-yang Lin 王林 and Ou-yang Pi 王比

Sons of the above.

10. In the eighth generation from Tsung come Piao (彪) and his younger brother Wan (萬), together with T'o (訐) who is in the same generation, but whose relationship to them is uncertain.

11. The T'ang shu tsai hsiang shih shih piao gives Ch'u (楚) as the brother of Ya (雅) and grandson of Wan. Ou-yang Hsiu's records give Ch'u as shewn.

12. The T'ang shu tsai hsiang shih shih piao gives Ta (達) and Ch'eng (成) as the sons of Ch'u. The T'u shu chi ch'êng gives Yüan (遠) and Ch'eng. Ou-yang Hsiu states that Ch'u had three sons, Ch'eng and two others whose names are not known.

13. Ou-yang Hsiu gives Yüan (see above) as the son of Hsiao (效).

14. Ou-yang Hsiu does not mention Pang (邦) as the son of T'o.

From the sons of T'o onwards the histories make no mention of the members of the clan included in this table and given by Ou-yang Hsiu, with the exception of Kuan (觀), Yeh (曄), and Huang (晃).

The T'u shu chi ch'êng gives the following after the sons of T'o, but their exact relationship to the clan is uncertain:

Ou-yang Ch'ih. 歐陽持

Ou-yang Jou. 歐陽柔

Ou-yang Kuang. 歐陽廣

Ou-yang Chung. 歐陽忠

Given as a member of the Lu-ling branch of the clan.

Ou-yang Fu. 歐陽敷

The following members of the clan are recorded in the official histories, in addition to those noted above:

Ou-yang Wêng. 歐陽翁

Hou Han Shu, Ju hsüeh (shang), ch.109.
(後漢書：儒學(上)：卷一百九)

Ou-yang Ti Yü. 歐陽地餘

Ch'ien Han Shu, Ou-yang Shêng chuan.
See above.

Ou-yang Chêng. 歐陽政

Ch'ien Han Shu, Ou-yang Shêng chuan.
See above.

Ou-yang Wei. 歐陽危

Ch'en Shu. ch.9.(陳書：卷九)

Nan Shih ch.66. (南史：卷六十六)

Ou-yang Ho. 歐陽紇

Ch'en Shu and Nan Shih, Ou-yang Wei chuan.
See above.

Ou-yang Hsün. 歐陽詢

Chiu T'ang Shu. ch.189.(舊唐書：卷一百八十九)

Hsin T'ang Shu, ch.198.(新唐書：卷一百九十八)

Ou-yang T'ung. 歐陽通

Chiu T'ang Shu and Hsin T'ang Shu, Ou-yang
Hsün chuan. See above.

Ou-yang Ch'iu. 歐陽迥

Said to be the son of one Chüeh (玨) who is
not mentioned in any other source.

See Sung Shih, Hsi Shu Shih Chia, ch.479.
(宋史：西蜀世家：卷四百八十九)

APPENDIX B.

THE MAJOR P'IEN-WÊN WRITERS

WESTERN HAN (B.C. 206 - 23 A.D.)

Tsou Yang	鄒陽	B.C. 206-129
Ssŭ-ma Hsiang-ju	司馬相如	B.C. 179-117
Mei Ch'êng	枚乘	B.C. ? -141
Wang Pao	王褒	B.C. ? -061
Liu Hsiang	劉向	B.C. 77-006
Yang Hsiung	揚雄	B.C. 53- 18 A.D.

EASTERN HAN (25 A.D. - 220 A.D.)

Pan Ku	班固	A.D. 39-092
Chang Hêng	張衡	A.D. 78-139
Ts'ai Yung	蔡邕	A.D. 133-192

WEI (220. A.D. - 264 A.D.)

Ts'ao Pei	曹丕	A.D. 187-226
Ts'ao Chih	曹植	A.D. 192-232
Wang Ts'an	王粲	A.D. 177-217

WESTERN CHIN (265 A.D. - 313 A.D.)

Yüan Chi	阮籍	A.D. 210-263
Lu Chi	陸機	A.D. 261-303
P'an Yüeh	潘岳	A.D. ? -300
Tso Ssŭ	左思	A.D. ? -306

SUNG (420 A.D. - 477 A.D.)

Yen Yen-chih	顏延之	A.D. 384-456
Pao Chao	鮑照	A.D. 421-465

CH'I (479 A.D. - 501 A.D.)

Hsieh Chuang	謝莊	A.D. 421-466
K'ung Chih-kuei	孔稚珪	A.D. 447-501
Chiang Yen	江淹	A.D. 444-505
Hsieh T'iao	謝朓	A.D. 464-499

LIANG (502 A.D. - 556 A.D.)

Shên Yüeh	沈約	A.D. 441-513
Wang Yung	王融	A.D. 467-493
Jên Fang	任昉	A.D. 460-508
Hsiao Yen	蕭衍	A.D. 464-549
Hsiao T'ung	蕭統	A.D. 501-531
Wu Chün	吳均	A.D. 469-520
Liu Hsieh	劉勰	A.D. ? -473

CH'EN (557 A.D. - 587 A.D.)

Hsü Ling	徐陵	A.D. 507-583

NORTHERN CHOU (557 A.D. - 581 A.D.)

Suo Hsin	庾信	A.D. 513-575

NORTHERN CH'I (550 A.D. - 577 A.D.)

Yen Chih-t'ui	顏之推	A.D. 531-591

T'ANG (618 A.D. - 905 A.D.)

Wang Po	王勃	A.D. 647-675
Yang Chiung	楊炯	A.D. ? -692
Lu Chao-lin	盧照隣	A.D. c641-680
Lo Pin-wang	駱賓王	A.D. c.680
Chang Yüeh	張說	A.D. 667-730
Liu Chih-chi	劉知幾	A.D. 661-721
Wang Wei	王維	A.D. 699-759
Lu Chih	陸贄	A.D. 754-805
Liu Tsung-yüan	柳宗元	A.D. 773-819
Tuan Ch'êng-shih	段成式	A.D. d.863
Ling-ku Ch'u	令狐楚	A.D. 766-836
Li Shang-yin	李商隱	A.D. 813-858
Wên T'ing-yün	溫庭筠	A.D. c.859

The early Sung p'ien-wên writers are referred to in the text and are therefore not included here.

APPENDIX

AN OUTLINE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE SUNG DYNASTY

Some brief notes on the Sung administrative system are appended for reference. These are taken mainly from "Wang An-shih" by H.R. Williamson. For fuller details such Chinese sources as the Chih Kuan chapter of the Sung shih 宋史 職官, the Sung hui yao 宋會要 and the Li tai chih kuan piao 歷代職官表 and the Wên Hsien T'ung k'ao 文獻通考 etc. should be consulted.

Under the Sung regime there were four main organs of government administration. These were:-

1. Chung Shu Shêng 中書省 — The Grand Secretariat. This was the chief legislative body, which made laws, and censored and promulgated imperial edicts.
2. Shang Shu Shêng 尚書省 — The Chief Executive Assembly. This was divided into various ministries or boards. (See below).
3. Mên Hsia Shêng 門下省 — The Imperial Chancellery. This body had particular responsibility for supervising the affairs of the

Imperial Household. It also preserved governmental documents, and supervised smaller bureaus in the capital, and was responsible for everything appertaining to court functions.

4. Shu Mi Yüan 樞密院 The Chief Military Executive.[1]

The officials serving in these bodies were as follows:

1. Chung Shu Shêng

Shih Lang 侍郎 Acting President. Also acting President of the Shang Shu Shêng with the title of Yu Pu Shê (see below).

Shê Jên 舍人 Of which there were four. Censors of edicts from the throne.

Yu Chien I Tai Fu 右諫議大夫 Vice-censor to the Emperor

Ch'i Chiu Shê Jên 起居舍人 Recorders to the throne

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1. See "Concerning the Office of the Shu-mi Shih" by Fu Lo-huan, Asia Major Vol. I. pt. II. p.274. This gives an account of the development of this office from a minor post filled by eunuchs in the mid-T'ang period, 765 A.D., to one of the most important offices of state in Sung times, when it ranked with the Chief Executive Assembly, the two being known as the Two Courts.

Yu Ssŭ Chien 右司諫 — Advisor of the Right.

Yu Chêng Yen 右正言 — Corrector of the Right

2. Shang Shu Shêng

Tso Pu Shê 左僕射 — President. Acting concurrently as president of the Mên Hsia Shêng, (see below).

Yu Pu Shê 右僕射 — Acting head of this body (see above

Tso Ch'êng 左丞 — Senior Councillor

Yu Ch'êng 右丞 — Junior Councillor

Tso Ssu 左司 — Superintendant of the Left

Yu Ssu 右司 — Superintendant of the Right.

Lang Chung 郎中 — Director of Department

Yüan Wai Lang 員外郎 — Assistant Secretary of Department.

3. Mên Hsia Shêng

Shih Lang 侍郎 — President. Acting concurrently as Tso Pu Shê of the Shang Shu Shêng.

Chi shih chung 給事中	Grand Secretaries of which there were four.
Tso chien i tai fu 左諫議大夫	Chief censors to the Emperor.
Ch'i chiu lang 起居郎	Recorders.
tso ssŭ chien 左司諫	Advisor of the Left.
tso chêng yen 左正言	Corrector of the Left.

In addition to these four main bodies there was the Nei Ko 內閣 or Grand Council. The Presidents of the Grand Secretariat and the Imperial Chancellery held office on this council, with the title of Regulator of Affairs in the Departments of State .

There were in addition Grand Ministers, Ts'an chih chêng shih 參知正文事 , who held concurrently appointments in one of the other bodies mentioned above.

The President of the Chief Military Executive had the standing of a Grand Minister and was admitted to meetings of the Grand Council.

The number of members of this body varied. It was the highest and most influential of government bodies and acted, with the Emperor, as Chief Executive of Government.

Another body, which was neither legislative nor

executive, but very influential, was the Censorate, which can be divided as follows:-

The Imperial Censorate, consisting of the Vice-censors to the Emperor of the division of Right and Left.

Censorate of Mandates, consisting of the shê jên and sometimes other officials from the three main bodies.

Public Censorate, whose members were appointed by selection, and had the right to impeach all officials.

In addition certain officials had the right to present memorials to the throne discussing or criticising either affairs or individuals.

Civil officials were appointed by the Board of Civil Office, Li Pu 吏部, one of the divisions of the Chief Executive Assembly.

The Six Boards

The Six divisions of the Chief Executive Assembly. These were as follows:-

1. Li Pu 吏部 — Board of Civil Office, which controlled and directed the personnel of the Civil Service. Its duties included whatever appertained to selection, rank and gradation, degradation or promotion,

investitures and rewards.

2. Li Pu 禮部 — Board of Rites, which supervised the code of ceremonies and rites, supervised education and customs and controlled the literary examinations. It supervised sacrificial matters, imperial mausolea, ancestral temples, the office of Music, etc.

3. Hu Pu 戶部 — Board of Revenue, in charge of all financial affairs, regulating the levying and collection of taxes, supervising transportation and storage of grain, etc.

4. Ping Pu 兵部 — Board of War, administered land, sea and river forces, supervised examinations for military skill, had charge of ordnance stores and arsenals and the government courier service.

5. Hsing Pu 刑部 — Board of Criminal Affairs, in charge of the enforcement and direction of punishments, the

confiscation of property, the examination of the verdicts of provincial officials and so on.

6. Kung Pu 工部 — Board of Works, controlled and directed all government buildings and works, such as construction and repair of bridges, canals, embankments, mausolea, temples and city walls. Defined weights and measures and furnished utensils and similar equipment for the army.

There were also various other small bureaus, entitled kuan 館, yüan 院, tien 殿, and ko 閣 mostly of a literary character, whose officials occupied themselves with expository works until they were selected for higher administrative posts.

The most important of these was the department of the imperial library in charge of ancient texts, known as Mi Shu Shêng, 秘書省. This was divided into:-

1. Chi Hsien Yüan 集賢院 — The "Court for the Assembly of the Sages" in which the classics, philosophies and ethical works were housed, copied and expounded.

2. Shih Yüan 史院 — The College of Historians and historical library.

3. Chao Wên Kuan 昭文館 — College for the Glorification of Literature, which had charge of all other classes of literature, - works of famous authors, biographies etc.

These departments were supervised by the Grand Councillors.

Other smaller academies were:

The Hanlin Yüan 翰林院

The chih chih kao 知制誥

with the alternative titles of Nei chih 內制 and Wai chih 外制 i.e. Internal and External Secretariat, and the collective title of Liang chih.

The first drew up all documents connected with the Court and the higher officials of the capital; orders of the Emperor, the Empress and the princes; pardons, treaties correspondence with foreign rulers. Its officials were sometimes consulted on important matters of state, and undertook, individually or collectively, various expository duties.

The second was concerned with public documents, edicts,

orders to provincial officials etc., correspondence concerning official appointments other than those dealt with by the Hanlin Yüan, and transfers, passed through their hands.

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Ph.D.

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VOL 2.

THE EARLY LIFE OF OU-YANG HSIU

AND

HIS RELATION TO THE RISE OF THE KU-WEN MOVEMENT OF THE SUNG DYNASTY

Vol.2.

Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of London, Faculty of Arts.

by

Marjorie A.Locke, B.A.

July 1951.

INTRODUCTION

In the transcription of Chinese names the Wade system has been used throughout.

All proper names etc. in the text are annotated when they first occur. Subsequent references are indicated in the appropriate index.

In the translation of official titles the designations used by Robert des Rotours in his Traité des Fonctionnaires and Traité des Examens have been followed as being the most suitable. The following sources have also been used:

Li tai chih kuan piao. 歷代職官表.

A. Beltchenko and E.E. Moran, Present day Political Organisation of China.

W.F. Mayers, The Chinese Government.

A. Pfizmaier, Darlegung der Chinesischen Ämter.

The following works of reference have been used for the identification of place names:-

Chung kuo ku chin ti ming ta tzŭ tien. 中國古今地名大辭典.

Chung kuo ti ming ta tzŭ tien. 中國土地大辭典.

Li tai ti li chih yün pien chin shih. 歷代地理志韻編今釋

Li tai ti li yen ko piao. 歷代地理沿革表

S. Couvreur, Geographie Ancienne et moderne de la Chine.

G.M.H. Playfair, Cities and Towns of China.

For convenience of reference the appropriate entry in Playfair is quoted, corroborated where necessary by references to one of the other works.

The following sources have been used for biographical details in addition to those quoted in the text:-

Jên ming ta tzŭ tien. 人名大辭典

Ku chin jên wu pieh ming suo yin. 古今人物別名索引

Wên hsüeh chia tzŭ tien. 文學家辭典

Giles, Biographical Dictionary. (This source frequently errs in the matter of dates. Corrections are included in the notes.)

For the conversion of dates and for biographical and dynastic dating the following have been used:-

Ch'ên shih chung hsi hui shih jih li. 陳氏中西回史日曆

Liang Ch'i-hsiang, Nien ssŭ shih chuan mu yin tê. 廿四史傳目引得

Li tai ming jên nien p'u. 歷代名人年譜

Li tai ming jên shêng tzu nien piao. 歷代名人生卒年表

Pere Hoang, Concordance des Chronologie néomeniques chinoise et européenne.

The following abbreviations have been used:-

C.K.P. - Li tai chih kuan piao 歷代職官表

H.T.C. - Hsü tzu chih t'ung chien 續資治通鑑

J.M.T. - Chung kuo jên ming ta tzŭ tien 中國人名大辭典

N.P. - Li tai ming jên shêng tzu nien piao 歷代名人生卒年表

O.Y.H.Wks. - Ou-yang Wên-chung chi 歐陽文忠集

T.M.T. - Chung kuo ti ming ta tzŭ tien 中國地名大辭典

T.S.C.C. - T'u shu chi ch'êng 圖書集成

W.H.C. - Chung kuo wên hsüeh chia ta tzŭ tien 中國文學家大辭典

B.S.O.S. - Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

C.G. - Couvreur, Geographie Ancienne et moderne de la Chine.

G.B.D. - Giles, Biographical Dictionary.

H.J.A.S. - Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.

J.N.C.B.R.A.S. - Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J.R.A.S. - Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

P.C. - Playfair, Cities and Towns of China.

T.E. - Robert des Rotours, Traite des Examens.

T.F. - Robert des Rotours, Traite des Fonctionnaires.

The following terms are used in text and notes with the connotation here given:-

Administrative Divisions

Chou	州	A department; the division of a province ranking above a district or Hsien.
Chün	郡	A commandery; the extent of this division varied considerably from time to time. Generally it corresponds to a Fu or prefecture.
Fu	府	A prefecture; the largest subdivision of a province.
Hsien	縣	A district; the lowest subdivision of a province.

Literary terms

Chao	詔	An edict.
Fu	賦	An irregular metrical rhyming composition, between prose and poetry.
Kao	誥	An edict.
Ku-wên	古文	The style of writing created by Han Yü in the T'ang dynasty and revived in the Sung. "Free" prose.
P'ien-wên	駢文	"Balanced" or regulated prose, characterised by parallel sentence structure.
Shih	詩	Rhyming verse with lines of five or seven characters.
Tz'ù	詞	"Musical" poems.

NOTES.

CHAPTER 1.

Page 1.

1. The following sources have been used for the genealogy of the Ou-yang clan:

Ou-yang Wên-chung chi 歐陽文忠集 ch.71. Ou-yang shih p'u t'u 歐陽氏譜圖.

T'u shu chi ch'êng 圖書集成 ch.590-592. Ou-yang hsing 歐陽姓.

Yüan ho hsing tsuan ssŭ chiao chi 元和姓纂四校記, by Ts'an Chung-nien 岑仲勉.

2. 帝嚳.

3. 無彊, reigned B.C.357-332.

4. 胡踐, B.C. 494-464.

5. 越氏.

6. 楚

7. 歐餘山 in Wu-ch'êng Hsien 烏程縣, now part of the prefectural city of Hu-chou 湖州 in Chê-chiang 浙江. See P.C. No.3322.

8. Ou-yang t'ing Hou 歐陽亭侯, 'yang' 陽 meaning 'south'

9. 漢 B.C. 205-24 A.D.

10. T'ai-shou 太守, the prefect of a 'chün' 郡.

11. 滎郡 a hsien in Shun-t'ien Fu 順天府 in Chih-li 直隸. See P.C.No.5544 (?).

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12. 千乘 in present Chi-nan Fu 濟南府 in Shan-tung 山東. See P.C.No.654.

13. 青州 present I-tu Hsien 益都縣 in Shan-tung. See P.C.No.1229.

14. 渤海 in present Chi-nan Fu. See note 12 above.

15. 冀州 present Hsin-tu Hsien 信都縣 in Ho-pei 河北 See P.C.No.6508.

16. 歐陽生

17. Po-shih 博士

18. Shu-ching 書經

Page 2.

19. 伏生 2nd-3rd century B.C.

20. 司馬倫 (Chao Wang Lun 趙王倫). He rebelled in 297 A.D. and seized power in 300 A.D. but was defeated and beheaded the following year.

21. Ou-yang Chih 歐陽質 who held office under Western Chin 西晉 and lost his life in the rebellion of Ssŭ-ma Lun.

22. 臨沐 in Yüeh-chou Fu 岳州府 in Hu-nan 湖南. See P.C.No.4295.

23. 景建.

24. 羆.

25. 歐陽玉宗

26. Tz'ŭ-shih 刺史 the prefect of a chou 州.

27. 吉州 in present Chi-nan Fu. See note 12.

28. 歐陽萬.

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29. For fuller details of the Ou-yang clan see Genealogical Table and notes in Appendix A.

30. 廬陵, Present Chi-an Fu 吉安府 in Chiang-hsi 江西. See P.C. Nos.638 and 4597.

31. 永豐, Present Chi-an Fu. See above and P.C. No.8961.

32. Ling, 令, the prefect of a 'hsien' or District.

33. 安福縣, Present Chi-an Fu. See 30 and 31 above and P.C. No.70.

34. 吉水, Present Chi-an Fu. See above and P.C. No. 643.

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35. 偃. It is not known whether Yen belonged to the Lu-ling or the Chi-shui branch of the family.

36. 沙溪. Near Yung-fêng Hsien. See 31 above.

37. 至和, 1054-1056 A.D.

38. 仁宗, reigned 1023-1064 A.D.

39. 宋

40. 謁見.

41. 進士. See page 9.

42. These appointments were:

Administrator of Current Affairs (P'an-kuan 判官) of Tao-chou 道州, present Tao Hsien 道縣 in Hu-nan 湖南. See P.C.7101 and C.G.1156.

Magistrate (T'ui-kuan 推官) of Sŭ-chou 泗州 present Sŭ Hsien 泗縣 in An-hui 安徽. See P.C. No.6656 and T.M.T.T. p.561-2.

Page 3 (contd).

Magistrate for Military Affairs (Chün-shih t'ui-kuan 軍事推官) of Mien-chou 綿州 , present Mien-yang Hsien 綿陽縣 in Ssŭ-ch'uan 四川 . See P.C. Nos. 4911 and 5358.(4), and C.G. No.1323.

Administrator of Current Affairs of T'ai-chou 泰州 , present T'ai Hsien 泰縣 in Chiang-su 江蘇 . See P.C. No.6991 and T.M.T.T. p.562.

43. 昞丙.

44. See Sung jên i shih hui pien 宋人軼事彙編,p.342.

45. As 'wei' 尉才 , an official charged with the direction of the current affairs of the district and the receiving of taxes. See Fan huang ts'a wên 焚黃祭文, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.6. ch.50. f.3r.

46. 鄭.

47. See Sung jên i shih hui pien 宋人軼事彙編,p.342.

48. See Ch'u-chou hsieh shang piao 滁州謝才上表, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.11.ch.90.f.5r.

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49. See p.3. note 42.

50. See G.B.Cressey: China's Geographic Foundations, p.310 et seq.

51. See p.3. note 42.

52. Pan-kuan,判官 , See p.3. note 42.

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53. See Lung-kang ch'ien piao 瀧岡阡表, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.4.ch.18.f.5.v.

54. 瀧岡 in Yung-fêng Hsien. See note 31 above and P.C. No. 1133.

55. Shang Shu ling 尚書令 (President of the Chief Executive Assembly) and Chung Shu ling 中書令 (President of the Grand Secretariat).

56. 崇國公.

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57. Lung-kang ch'ien piao (see note 53 above).

58. 隨州 in Tê-an Fu 德安府 in Hu-pei 湖北. See P.C.No.6723.

59. 曄 Yeh was six years junior to Kuan. After taking his chin shih degree in 1000 A.D. at the age of thirty-seven, he held office as Administrator of Current Affairs in Nan-hsiung Chou 南雄州 in Kuang-tung 廣東. (See P.C. No. 5093). He was subsequently transferred to Sui-chou. See Shang shu tu kuan yüan wai lang Ou-yang kung mu chih ming 尚書都官員外郎歐陽公墓誌銘, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.4.ch.27.f.3.r. Ou-yang Kuan had another brother, Tan 但, who did not hold office.

60. Yeh's eldest son was Tsung-yen 宗彥 and the next Tsung-min 宗閔. The other two died at an early age, but it is possible that one of them at least was alive at this period, since Ou-yang Hsiu mentions a third son - Ou-yang Tsung-meng 宗孟. The daughter married later but died while still quite young. See Shang shu tu kuan etc. as above.

Page 7.

61. 漢東, in Sui-chou, see note 53 above.

62. 李.

63. 南周, south of Han-tung, see note 61 above.

64. 堯.

65. See Chi chiu pên Han wên hou 記舊本韓文後, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.9.ch.73. f.7r.

66. See Sung shih 宋史 ch.319. Ou-yang Hsiu chuan 歐陽修傳.

67. See note 31.

68. Yu Yin Shih-lu shu 與尹師魯書, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.8. ch.67. f 5v.

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69. See Chi chiu pên Han wên hou 記舊本韓文後, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.9.ch.73. f 7r. and Li hsiu ts'ai tung yüan t'ing chi 李秀才東園亭記, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.8. ch.63. f 5r.

70. 唐 618-906 A.D.

71. 韓愈, 768-824 A.D. See Chiu T'ang Shu 舊唐書 ch. Han Yü chuan 韓愈傳, and W.H.C. No. 1475.

72. Ou-yang Hsiu was, however, by no means the first of the Sung writers who endeavoured to regenerate contemporary literature by a revival of the movement inaugurated by Han Yü. See pt.2. ch.2.

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73. See Yu Kao ssŭ chien shu 與高司諫書, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.8. ch.67. f. 4r.

74. See Huang Mêng-shêng mu chih ming 黃夢升墓誌銘, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.4. ch.28. f 3r.

75. See note 74.

Page 9 (contd).

76. For details of the T'ang system see Robert des Rotours: Le Traite des Examens.

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77. For fuller details of the Sung system see the following:

Wên hsien t'ung k'ao 文獻通考, by Ma Tuan-lin 馬端臨, ch.31 and 32.

Yü Hai 玉海,

Essai sur l'histoire de l'instruction publique en Chine by Edouard Biot.

78. Ts'ê 策. From the time of Liu Yün (劉筠 c.1016) one of the leading writers of his time who was on three occasions appointed Examiner for the chin shih degree, this became the most important section of the examination. Ou-yang Hsiu criticised the effects of this emphasis in his 'passing-out' papers from the Kuo Tzŭ Chien 國子監. (See page 32).

79. Lun Yü. 論語.

80. Ch'un Chiu, 春秋.

81. Li Chi, 禮記.

82. See Biot op.cit. p.327 and Ma Tuan-lin op.cit. ch. 33. f.11.

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83. See E.H.Kracke Jr; Family vs. Merit in Chinese Civil Service Examinations under the Empire, H.J.A.S. September 1947, Vol.10. p.103.

and Karl Wittfogel: Public Office in the Liao Dynasty, H.J.A.S. June 1947, Vol.10. p. 13.

Page 12.

84. The 'yin-pu' (蔭補) system. See Sung shih: ch.159. Hsüan chi 選擧 section 5.

85. -

86. Wu Fu (五服) i.e. parents, grandparents and great-grandparents, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, and distant relatives in the line of descent or ascent.

87. See for example Fan Wên-chêng kung fu fên i 范文正公政府奏議 Chih t'i 治體 Ta shou chao hsiu ch'ên shih shih 答手詔條陳十事 pt.1. f.5.r. which estimates that one official could, during the course of his career, launch as many as twenty of his relatives on official careers by the application of this prerogative.

88. Both E.H.Kracke Jr. and Karl Wittfogel give figures relating to this subject, but their conclusions differ considerably. See note 83.

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89. See Nien-p'u 年譜 f.3r. O.Y.H.Wks.ts.1.

90. 見武

91. An official system of rhymes (kuan-yün 官韻) was in force, restricting the rhymes used by candidates in the composition of fu. In Sung times candidates were expected to conform to the standards given in the Li pu yün lüeh 禮部韻略

92. During the early Sung period examination sessions for the chin shih degree were held at irregular intervals. Thus in 1023, 1024 and 1026 no session was held. See Ma Tuan-lin op.cit.

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93. See Chi chiu pên Han wên hou 記舊本韓文後, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.9. ch.73. f.7r.

94. See Shang Hsü hsüeh shih Yen ch'i 上胥學士偃啟, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.12. ch.95. f.1r.

94a. 開封 in Ho-nan 河南. The chief of the four Sung capitals. See P.C.No.3256. The other three were:

Lo-yang 洛陽 in Ho-nan, known as the Western Capital. See P.C.No.4504.

Ying-t'ien Fu 應天府 in Ho-nan. Known as the Southern Capital. See P.C.No.3812.

Ta-ming Fu 大名府 in Chih-li 直隸, known as the Northern Capital. See P.C.No.6854.

95. Candidates assembled in the capital in the autumn but were not examined until the following spring.

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96. T'ung-pan 通判.

97. 漢陽 in Hu-pei 湖北. See P.C.No.2058.

98. See Hsü hsüeh shih ta ch'i 胥學士答啟, O.Y.H.Wks. t.12. ch.95. f.2v.

99. 國子監 The 'University of the Sons of the State' where candidates were trained for degrees. See T.E. pp.37 and 131.

100. 廣文館 The 'College for the Propagation of Literature' one of the sections of the University in which chin-shih candidates were taught. See T.E. p.131.

INSERT

106b. See note 165.

106c. 蔡州 present Ju-ning Fu in Honan. 汝寧府.
See P.C.No.3196.

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101. 國學, i.e. the University.

102. 楊億, 974-1020. See Sung shih: Pên chi and ch.305. and W.H.C. No.1964.

103. 寇準, 961-1023. See Sung shih: Pên chi and ch.281. and W.H.C. No.1937.

104. 王欽若, d.1026. See Sung shih: Pên chi and ch.283.

105. 王禹偁, 954-1001. See Sung shih: Pên chi and ch.293. and W.H.C. No.1918.

106. 劉筠, c.1016. See Sung shih: Pên chi and ch.305. and W.H.C. No.1968.

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106a. 丁謂, 962-1033. See Sung shih: Pên chi and ch.283. and W.H.C. No.1946. (G.B.D. gives his dates as 969-1040. See No. 1942).

107. Sung Hsiang 宋庠, 996-1066. See Sung shih ch.284. and W.H.C.No.2008. (G.B.D.gives dates 996-1064, see No. 1832).

Sung Ch'i 宋祁, 998-1061. See Sung shih ch. 284. and W.H.C.No.2017

See Yü Kao ssŭ chien shu 與高司諫書, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.8. ch.67. f.4r.

108. 王曾, 978-1038. See Sung shih: Pên chi and ch.310. and W.H.C. No.1973.

109. 青州, present I-tu Hsien, see note 13.

109a. 晏殊, 984-1050. See Sung shih: Pên chi and ch.283. and W.H.C. No.1988. (G.B.D. gives dates 985-1051, see No.682).

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110. 薛奎, 967-1034. See Sung shih: Pên chi and ch.286.

110a. Ts'an chih chêng shih 參知政事,
One of the titles denoting the specific function of one of the Grand Ministers or tsai-hsiang 宰相 - "participating in the direction of governmental matters".

111. 陳堯佐, 963-1044. See Sung shih: Pên chi and ch.284. and W.H.C.1948.

112. 王曙, d.1034. See Sung shih: Pên chi and ch.286. and W.H.C.1984.

113. 呂夷簡, 977-1042. See Sung shih: Pên chi and ch.331. and W.H.C. 1970 (G.B.D. gives dates 977-1044, see No.1446)

114. T'ung chung shu mên hsia p'ing chang shih 同中書門下平章事,
Officials charged with examining and regulating governmental matters in conjunction with the Presidents of the two Departments of State.

115. 照文館, 'College for the Glorification of Literature' See T.E. p.161.

116. 范雍, d.1046. See Sung shih ch.288. and Pên Chi.

117. Shu mi fu shih 樞密副使,

118. 陳從易, c.1004. See Sung shih: Pên chi and ch.300. and W.H.C. No.1950

119. 楊大雅, c.1004. See Sung shih: Pên chi and ch.300 and W.H.C.No.1951 which gives dates as 965-1033).

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119a. 景德 1004-1008. See also pt.2. ch.2. for Sung ku-wên writers.

120. Tso ssŭ lang chung 左司郎中, Superior Secretary to the Bureau of the Left of the Chief Executive Assembly.

121. Chih chih kao 知制誥, Assistant to the Secretary of the Grand Secretariat.

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122. 曾鞏, 1019-1083. See Sung shih ch.319. and W.H.C.No.2073. See also Yüan fêng lei kao chi 元豐類藁集, ts. 8. ch.51 f.8v.

123. See ch.3.p.35. Hsiu returned to the capital in the year 1040.

124. 王安石, 1021-1080. See Sung shih ch.327. and W.H.C. No.2085 which gives dates 1021-1086. G.B.D. also gives 1086, No.2134. See also H.R.Williamson: Wang An-shih, Vol.1. p.10. notes 3-4.

125. Su Hsün, 蘇洵, 1009-1059. See Sung shih ch.443, and W.H.C. No.2043 which gives dates as 1009-1066. G.B.D.also gives 1066, No.1780.

Su Ch'ê, 蘇轍, 1039-1112. See Sung shih ch.339. and W.H.C. No.2135.

Su Shih, 蘇軾, 1036-1101. See Sung shih ch.338, and W.H.C. 2124.

126. 眞宗, reigned 998-1022 A.D.

126a. 劉后, See Sung shih ch.242. and Sung Lun 宋論,

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127. See Otto Francke: Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches, Vol.4. pp.125-219.

128. 契丹.

129. 西夏.

130. In 1007 A.D. See H.T.C. ts.7. ch.26. f 1v.

131. Chung shu shih lang 中書侍郎, and Li pu shang shu t'ung p'ing chang shih 吏部尚書同平章事.

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131a. 錢惟演, d.1032-33. See Sung shih ch.317. and W.H.C. No.1967. G.B.D. gives the date of his death wrongly as 1029. See further ch.2. p.39.

132. T'ai tzŭ t'ai po. 太子太博. See H.T.C. ts.9. ch.34. f.17v.

133. Chou Huai-chêng 周懷正, See Sung shih ch.466.

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134. 相州, Present An-yang Hsien 安陽縣, in Ho-nan. See P.C. Nos.110 and 258. See H.T.C. ts.9. ch.34. f.21r.

135. 安州, Present Tê-an Fu 德安府, in Hu-peï. See P.C. No.7140 and C.G. No.1071.

136. 道州, Present Tao Hsien 道縣, in Hu-nan. See P.C. No.7101 and C.G. No.1156.

137. 'yüan' 遠. See H.T.C. ts.9. ch.35. f.1r.

138. See Sung shih ch. 283. Ting Wei chuan.

139. See Sung shih ch. 242. and 283.

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140. 雷州, Present Lei-chou Fu, in Kuang-tung 廣東 . See P.C. No.4082. and C.G. No.1493. See Sung shih, Pên chi 本記, ch.9. f.lv.

141. 衡州, Present Hêng-chou Fu in Hu-nan 湖南 . See P.C. No. 2137. See H.T.C. ts.9. ch.35. f.10v.

142. According to the Li tai t'ung chien chi lan 歷代通鑑輯覽 however the word 'temporary' was included in the imperial edict, but Ting Wei wished to delete it. On the advice of Wang Ts'eng he refrained from doing so. The original edict does not appear to be available.

143. Huang t'ai hou 皇太后.

144. 雷允共, See Sung shih ch. 468.

145. See Sung shih ch.242. and 283.

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146. 崖州, in Present Ch'iung-chou Fu 瓊州府 in Kuang-tung,廣東. See P.C. No.8629. See Sung shih, Pên chi 本記. ch.9. f.lv. and H.T.C. ts.9. ch.35. ff. 13r. - 16r.

Ting Wei remained in Yai-chou for three years and was then transferred to K'ou Chun's former place of exile - Lei-chou. Five years later he retraced the route along which he had sent K'ou and was moved to Tao-chou. During the years 1032-34 he was moved again to Kuang-chou 光州, (in Ho-nan, see P.C.No.3778) where he died in 1033. See Sung shih ch.238.

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147. Wang was still in office in the Grand Secretariat and the Imperial Chancellery, but he did not enjoy under the Empress the same unrestricted authority allowed him by Chên Tsung. See Sung shih ch. 238.

148. Ch'ien Wei-yen was dismissed in November 1022 at the instigation of Fan Ch'êng (范 承), who disapproved of his relations with Ting Wei and his liaison with the imperial family. See Sung shih ch. 317. and Pên chi ts.3 本記 ch.9. f.1v. and H.T.C. ts.9. ch.35. f.17v.

149. Wang Ts'êng was dismissed in August 1029. See Sung shih ch. 310. and Pên chi 本記 ts.3. ch. 9.f.5v. and H.T.C. ts.10. ch.37. f.21v.

150. Yen Shu was dismissed in February 1027. See Sung shih ch. 311. and Pên chi 本記 ts.3. ch.9. f.4v. and H.T.C. ts.10. ch.37. f. 5v.

151. See p.26.

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152. See Sung shih, Pên chi 本記 ts.3.ch.9. f.5v. and H.T.C. ts.10. ch.37. f.17r.

153. Jên Tsung was not her own son, but the child of a concubine of the Li family - a fact which the Empress Liu was careful to conceal from him. The very real nature of her authority may be judged from the fact that not one of the ministers ever attempted to divulge this information to Jên Tsung during the Empress's lifetime. His mother also refrained from taking advantage of her position and remained on the most cordial terms with the Empress until her death. See Li ch'en fei chuan, Hou fei, pt.1. 李宸妃傳，后妃上， Sung Shih ch.242.

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154. Liang Ch'i-chao 梁啓超 goes into the matter of the rise and continuance of the factions at the Sung court in some detail, and traces them to the quarrels of Fan Chung-yen and Lü I-chien in the early years of Jên Tsung's reign. See Yin ping shih ts'ung chi 飲冰室叢集, ch.1. and Wang An-shih p'ing chuan 王安石評傳; See also ch.3.p.68 et.seq.

155. -

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156. Shih Pi-yen shih chi hsü 釋祕演詩集序, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.5. ch.41. f.3r.

157. Wei chün nan lun 為君莫住論, O.Y.H. Wks. ts.3. ch.17. f.6r.

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158. See note 157.

159. See note 157.

Page 26.

160. Shih Pi-yen shih chi hsü 釋祕演詩集序, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.5. ch.41. f.2r.

161. 范仲淹, 989-1052. See Sung shih ch.314. and W.H.C. No.1993. He was dismissed at his own request to Ho-chung Fu 河中府 in Shan-hsi 山西 after memorialising the throne to request that authority should be handed over to the emperor. See Li tai t'ung chien chi lan 歷代通鑑輯覽 ch.74. f.10.r.

162. 謝絳, 995-1039. See Sung shih ch.295. He was holding the post of secretary in the Bureau of Sacrifices, Ssŭ pu yuan wai lang 祠部員外郎,

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163. 蘇舜欽, 1008-1048. See Sung shih ch.442.

164. T'ai miao chai lang 太廟齋郎, An official charged with the preparations for the rituals in the Temple of the Ancestors.

165. 穆脩, 979-1032. See Sung shih ch. 442. and W.H.C. No.1974. See further pt.2. ch. 2 p. 56.

166. 石延年, 994-1040. See Sung shih ch. 442. and W.H.C. No.2005. which gives dates as 994-1041 as does G.B.D No.1734).

167. See Yü Chang tuan t'ien shu 與張屯田書, O.Y.H.Wks.

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168. 詩

169. 祕演, See Shih Pi-yen shih chi hsü 釋祕演詩集序. O.Y.H.Wks. ts.5. ch.41. f. 2r.

170. 惟儼, See Shih Wei-yen wên chi hsü 釋惟儼文集序 O.Y.H. Wks. ts.5. ch.41. f. 2v.

171. See Pên lun 本論, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.3. ch.17. f.1r.

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172. -

173. See note 171.

174. Hsiu's nationalism, like that of his contemporaries, was incipient rather than real. The military weakness of the Sung rulers, already manifest in the early years of the dynasty, gave rise among the more far-sighted men of the time to a strong anti-foreign reaction. But generally speaking it was not

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174. (contd). until later in the dynasty when the threat of partition by "barbarian" tribes became immediate that this negative anti-foreign sentiment developed into a positive nationalistic one. For a discussion of this matter see Otto Francke, R.H.Williamson and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao op.cit.

175. See note 171.

176. See p.18.

177. The question of the organisation of the Sung army and its effect on economic questions is discussed in H.R.Williamson op.cit. Vol.2. p.71 et.seq. in Liang Ch'i-ch'ao: Wang Ching-kung nien p'u k'ao lüeh 梁啓超：王荊公年譜考略. Yin ping shih ts'ung chi 飲冰室叢集. and in Sung lun 宋論, ch.6.

178. 天聖 1023-1032. See H.T.C. ts.9. ch.36. to ts.10. ch.38. f.11. and Sung shih. Pên chi 本記 ts.3.ch.9. f.2r to 7v.

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179. See H.R.Williamson: op.cit. Vol.2. p.71. et.seq. According to the Ming shih 明史 Liu Hsiu-kan chuan 劉休乾傳 ch.202. the figure for civil and military officials in the Sung dynasty was 34,000 (proportions not given) as compared with 18,000 during the T'ang dynasty.

180. 井 Land was divided into nine portions according to this character, and these portions were cultivated by eight families. The produce of the central portion belonged to the state.

181. See note 171.

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182. According to L. Wieger: Textes Historiques there were in the year 1019 A.D. 230,127 Buddhist monks and 15,645 nuns.

183. See note 171.

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184. See Kuo hsüeh shih ts'ê san tao 國學試策三道 O.Y.H.Wks. ts.9.ch.75. f.8v. See also p.10 note 78.

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185. The examiner on this occasion was Yen Shu 晏殊 (991-1040. See Sung shih ch.311 and W.H.C.No.1997 which gives his dates as 991-1055. G.B.D. No.2473 gives them as 991-1046.). Yen was a Professor of the Han-lin Academy who made an important contribution to the rehabilitation of the schools throughout the country, - a movement which later became officially sponsored and which was highly favourable to those writers who were endeavouring to revive the ku-wên movement.(See pt.2. ch. 2 p. 47). Yen's own reputation rested on his skill as a writer of p'ien-wên, But he included a number of kü-wên writers among his followers, as for instance Fan Chung-yen, Kung Tao-p'u (see note 27.ch.3.) and Ou-yang Hsiu himself. See further Sung Yüan hsüeh an 宋元學案.

186. Shêng-yüan 省元.

According to the Sung jên i shih hui pien 宋人軼事彙編, ch.8.p.343. Hsiu was the only candidate who knew the source of the quotation given as a subject for the fu. This was taken from the Monograph on Officials of the History of the Former Han Dynasty.

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187. After passing the chin shih examination successful candidates went before a selection board presided over by the Emperor and termed the Court Examination. Appointments were made according to the results of this final competition. See Edouard Biot: op.cit.

188. Chia-k'o 甲科

189. See p.14. note 94a.

190. Liu shou t'ui kuan 留守推官.

191. See Hsü fu jên mu chih ming 胥夫人墓誌銘. O.Y.H.Wks. ts.8. ch.62. f.6v.

192. 東武, Present Chu-ch'êng Hsien 諸城縣 in Shan-tung 山東. See P.C. No.1383. and C.G.no.503.

CHAPTER II.

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1. 詞. Hsiu's activities as a poet are not dealt with in the present thesis. Such sources as the following should be consulted:

Chung kuo ts'u shih ta kang 中國詞史大綱
by Hu Yün-i 胡雲翼.
Ts'u Hsüan 詞選 selected and annotated by Hu Shih 胡適.
Ts'u hua ts'ung p'ien 詞話叢編
by T'ang Kuei-ch'ang 唐圭璋

1a. Shu Mi Yüan 樞密院

2. It was customary for young men to marry as soon as they had gained their degree, if they were not already married. Examination time in the capital was also a busy time on the matrimonial market. There was a regular system in which go-betweens were employed who watched for the pass-lists of chin shih candidates and endeavoured to secure them as sons-in-law for parents with eligible daughters, from whom they reaped a large profit. Rich merchants were particularly anxious to form marriage connections with the official class in this way.

3. See p.57.

4. See Shih pi: hsüeh shu hsiao jih 試筆：學書消日, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.16. ch.130. f.3r.

5. See note 4.

6. See note 4.

7. See Shih pi: Fêng fa hua 試筆：風法華, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.16. ch.130. f.

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8. See Shih pi: Wei shu wei lo 詩緯：為書為樂，
O.Y.H.Wks. ts.16. ch.130. f.3r.

9. See pt.2.ch. 3 p. 61.

10. See pt.2.ch. 2.

11. i.e. Su Sung 蘇頌, 1020-1101, See Sung shih ch.340 and W.H.C.No.2079.

12. i.e. Ts'ai Hsiang 蔡襄, 1012-1053. See Sung shih ch.320 and W.H.C. No.2058. which gives dates as 1012-1067. G.B.D. No.1974 gives dates as 1011-1066).

13. See Sung ming ch'ên yen hsing luh 宋名臣言行錄 p.134.

14. 周,

The details concerning Lo-yang are taken from "Loyang as the National Capital" by J.C.Ferguson Ph.D. in J.N.C.B.R.A.C. 1933.

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15. 周公

16. 洛.

17. 伊.

18. The Chien 澗, and the Ch'an 瀍.

19. 王城 Previously known as Lo-i 洛邑 and later as Chia-ju 夾鄏, a name taken from the Chia mountains lying to the north.

20. 敬王, c.516 B.C.

21. 成周,

22. 王子朝.

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23. 赧王 c.B.C.314.

24. 秦 255-207 B.C.

25. The Ch'in capital was at Hsien-yang 咸陽 in present Shen-hsi 陝西 that of Han at Ch'ang An 長安 in Hu-nan, 湖南.

26. 王莽, B.C.33- 23 A.D.

27. 河南.

28. 魏, 220-264 A.D.

29. 文帝, reigned 220-227 A.D.

30. 永熙 532-535 A.D.

31. 孝武帝,

32. 煬帝, reigned 605 - 617 A.D.

33. 隋, 589-617 A.D.

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35. 貞觀, 627-650 A.D.

36. 開元, 713-742 A.D.

37. -

38. See Lo-yang ming yüan chi 洛陽名園記, Hou hsü 後序, f.12.r-v.

39. op.cit. Lü wên mu yüan 呂文穆園. f.11.r-v.

40. The city was rebuilt in 1034 and work was started on some of the government offices while Ou-yang Hsiu was there. The new city was built on a smaller site than that occupied by the old one. See Fei-fei t'ing chi 非非亭記, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.8.ch.63.f.4v.

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40a. See Lo-yang ming yüan chi 洛陽名園記, Tung shih hsi yüan 董氏西園, f.2.v.

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41a. See op.cit. Li shih jên fêng yüan 李氏仁豐園, f.6v.

41. See op.cit. T'ien Wang yüan hua yüan tzŭ 天王院花園子, f.4.v.

42. See Lo-yang mu tan chi: Fêng su chi, ti san. 洛陽牡丹記:風俗記第三, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.9. ch.72.f.6r.

43. See note 42.

44. Lo-yang mu tan chi: Hua p'in hsü ti i and Hua shih ming ti erh 洛陽牡丹記:花品序第一:花釋名第二.
O.Y.H.Wks. ts.9. ch.72. ff.2r. - 5v.

45. Sung shan 崇山 . See page 43 et.seq.

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46. See Ho-nan fu ssŭ lu Chang chün mu piao 河南府司錄張君墓表.
O.Y.H.Wks. ts.4.ch.24. f.7v.

47. See Chapter 1. note 131a.

48. The Hsi k'un p'ai 西崑派 . See pt.2. ch. 2 p. 36.

49. See Ho-nan fu ssŭ lu Chang chün mu piao 河南府司錄張君墓表, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.4.ch.24. f. 7v.

50. See ch.1. p.26.

51. 張堯夫

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52. 張先, 990-1053. See Sung shih ch.268. Chang Hsien chuan 張先傳, Also T.S.C.C. ch.243. f.9r. and W.H.C.No.1994 which gives dates as 990-1078.

53. Fa ts'an chün 法參軍.

54. 張應之.

55. Chu pao 注簿.

56. 楊子聰.

57. Ts'an chün 參軍.

58. 王復, See Sung shih ch.448. Chao Li chuan 趙立傳 This gives no details of Wang's early career, and Hsiu mentions him simply as Wang hsiu ts'ai 秀才. It is probable that he was not in office at this time.

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59. See pt. 2 ch. 3 p. 61-63.

60. 尹洙, 1001-1046. See Sung shih ch. 295. and W.H.C.No.2024.

61. 梅堯臣, 1002-1060. See Sung shih ch.443. and W.H.C.No.2028.

62. See Ch'i chiao ch'i shou 七交七首, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.6.ch.51. f.1v.

63. See Ch'i chiao ch'i shou: Ho-nan fu Chang t'ui kuan 七交七首：河南府張推官. See note 62.

64. See Ho-nan fu ssŭ lu Chang chün mu piao 河南府司錄張君墓表, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.4.ch.24.f.7v.

65. See Chang Tzŭ-yeh mu chih ming 張子野墓誌銘, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.4.ch.27.f.5v.

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66. See Ch'i chiao ch'i shou: Yin shu chi

67. 七交七首：尹書記， O.Y.H.Wks.ts.6.ch.51. f.1v. and Yin Shih-lu mu chih ming 尹師魯墓誌銘, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.4.ch.28. f.6r.

68. See Ch'i chiao ch'i shou: Yang hu-ts'ao 七交七首：水陽芦薈， O.Y.H.Wks. ts.6. ch.51. f.1v.

69. 顏回， B.C. 514-483.

70. See Ch'i chiao ch'i shou: Wang hsiu ts'ai 七交七首：王秀才， O.Y.H.Wks.ts.6.ch.51. f.2r.

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71. 城中學拂性鼻， A reference to the story in the Chin Shu 晉書 which tells of one Hsieh An 謝安, who had a nasal defect which imparted an unusual twang to his speech. This rapidly became the vogue among his contemporaries, who resorted to the method of pinching their nostrils in order to obtain the desired effect. See Chin Shu ch.79.

72. See Ch'i chiao ch'i shou: Mei chu pao 七交七首：梅注薄， O.Y.H.Wks. ts.6.ch.51. f. 2r. Also Mei Shêng-yü mu chih ming 梅聖俞墓誌銘, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.5.ch.33. f.4r. and Mei Shêng-yü shih hsü 梅聖俞詩序. O.Y.H.Wks. ts.5.ch.42. f.7r.

73. See Chi Shên-ch'ing tung yu Sung shan chi Mei tien ch'êng shu 記沈清洞遊崇山寄梅殿丞書, by Hsieh Chiang 謝絳， O.Y.H.Wks.ts.20. Fu lu 4. 附錄四.

74. See Sung jên i shih hui pien 宋人軼事彙編, p.343.

75. See note 74.

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76. See Chang Tzŭ-yeh mu chih ming 張子野墓誌銘, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.4.ch.27.f.5v.

77. See Lü chu t'ang tu yin 綠竹堂獨飲, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.6.ch.51. f.5v.

78. -

79. See Ch'i chiao ch'i shou: Tzŭ shu 七交七首: 自余又, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.6.ch.51.f.2r.

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80. See Fu lu 附錄 O.Y.H.Wks.ts.20.

81. Many of his friends predeceased him, and some - for example Mei Yao-ch'ên - left their families in straitened circumstances. Hsiu spared no effort to relieve their poverty and obtain official posts for their sons.

82. Sung shan, 嵩山 formerly one of the most famous places of pilgrimage in China. For a detailed description see W.E.Geil: The Sacred Five p.167 et.seq. Ou-yang Hsiu and his contemporaries at Lo-yang have all left descriptions of these mountains in verse and prose. See P.C.No.6765.

83. 里, - one-third of a mile.

84. 登封, The Holy City of Sung shan, once known as Yang-ch'êng 陽城 It was formerly also a place of considerable scientific and industrial importance. See P.C.No.7175.

85. See W.E.Geil, op.cit.

86. 太室.

87. 少室.

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88. See W.E.Geil, op.cit. p.

89. Lung Mên 龍門, This was only eighteen li from Lo-yang, and Ou-yang Hsiu and his colleagues frequently made a day's outing there. See P.C.No.4663 (7).

90. I Chüeh 伊闕 See P.C.No.6765.

91. For history and description of these temples see Edouard Chavannes: Le Défile de Lung Mên, Journal Asiatique 1902, and Oswald Siren: History of Chinese Sculpture.

92. See Sung shan shih erh shou. 嵩山十二首, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.6.ch.51. f2r. and Wan-ling chi: Hsi ching shih: T'ung Yung-shu Tzŭ-ts'ung yu Sung shan shih erh t'i 宛陵集：西京詩：同永叔子聰遊嵩山十二題.
Wan-ling chi ts.1.ch.2. f.5r. These three chüan of poems give an intimate picture of Mei Yao-ch'en's association with Hsiu and his other colleagues during the year 1031-34.

93. See Sung shan shih erh shou: Kung lu chien. 公路澗, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.6.ch.51.f3r.

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94. See note 93.

95. See Sung shan shih erh shou: Pai ma chien. 拜馬澗, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.6.ch.51.f.3r.

96. 碧 a jade circlet once used as a badge of rank.

97. See Sung shan shih erh shou: Erh Shih tao. 二室道 O.Y.H.Wks.ts.6.ch.51.f.3r.

98. See Sung shan shih erh shou: Tzŭ Chün chi chung yüan pu têng T'ai-shih chung fêng. 自峻茨本欲中院步登太室中峯.
O.Y.H.Wks.ts.6.ch.51. f.3r.

Page 45 (contd).

99. 峻本取寺.

100. See Sung shan shih erh shou: Chün chi ssŭ 峻本取寺, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.6.ch.51.f.4r.

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101. See Sung shan shih erh shou: Chung fêng. 中峯, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.6.ch.51.f.4r.

102. T'ien Mên 天門.

103. Yü nü ch'uan 玉女窗.

104. See Sung shan shih erh shou: Yü nü ch'uan. 玉女窗, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.6.ch.51.f.3r.

105. See Sung shan shih erh shou: T'ien Mên. 天門, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.6.ch.51.f.3v.

106. See Sung shan shih erh shou: T'ien Mên ch'üan 天門泉, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.6.ch.51.f.3v.

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107. See Sung shan shih erh shou: T'ien ch'ih. 天池, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.6.ch.51.f.3v.

108. See Liu shou Hsiang kung tao yü Chiu-lung ssŭ ying shih huo chu ch'êng fu chung t'ung liao 留守相公道雨九龍祠應時獲濟星府中同僚, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.2.ch.10.f.10.v.

Page 48.

109. See H.T.C.ts.9.ch.36.et.seq. and Sung shih ts.3.ch.9 and 10. for T'ien Shêng 天聖 1023-31, Ming Tao 明道 1032-34, and Ching Yü 景祐 1034-38, periods, for incidence of these calamities and the measures taken to relieve distressed areas.

Page 48 (contd).

110. See Sung Wang Shêng chi fu fu fêng chu pao shu 送王聖紀赴扶風主簿序, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.8.ch.65. f.2r. This was written in the third year of Ching Yü (1036) describing conditions at the beginning of that year.

110a. 宣德門.

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111. See above.

112. P'u-ming ssŭ 普明寺.

113. See Ho-nan fu chung hsiu shih yüan chi 河南府重修使院記, and Ho-nan fu chung hsiu Ching-kou yüan chi 河南府淨土居院記, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.8.ch.63.f.1.r.

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114. See Fei-fei t'ing chi 非非亭記, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.8.ch.63.f.4v.

115. See Chi Shên-ch'ing tung yu Sung shan chi Mei tien ch'êng shu 記神清洞遊嵩山寄梅殿丞書, by Hsieh Chiang O.Y.H.Wks.ts.20. Fu lu 4. 附錄.

116. See Sung Mei Shêng-yü kuei Ho-yang hsü 送梅聖俞歸河陽序, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.8.ch.64.f4v.

Page 52.

116a. See Ch'u chiu P'u-ming ssŭ chu lin hsiao yin chien Mei Shêng-yü fên yün tê hêng, han, mu, yeh, hsia wu shou 初秋普明寺竹林小飲餞梅聖俞分韻得亭字木葉下五首. O.Y.H.Wks. ts.6.ch.50.f.4v. and Wan -ling chi: Hsi ching shih, Hsin ch'iu P'u-ming yüan chu lin hsiao yin shih hsü 宛陵集：西京詩：新秋普明院竹林小飲詩序. ts.1.ch.2.f.2v.

117. 建春門.

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118. 新侯嶺.

119. See Yu Lung-men fên t'i: Shang shan 游龍門分題:上山. O.Y.H.Wks.ts.1.ch.1.f.1.v.

Page 53.

120. See note 115.

121. See note 115.
122.

Page 54.

123. See Yu Lung-mên fên t'i: Tzŭ P'u-t'i pu yüeh kuei Kuang-hua ssŭ 自菩提步月歸廣化寺, and Su Kuang-hua ssŭ 宿廣化寺. O.Y.H.Wks.ts.1.ch.1.f.2.r-v.

124. See note 115.

126. 嶺下陽 Near Têng-fêng Hsien. See P.C.No.8658. and 7175.

126. See note 115.

127. See note 115.

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128. Sung ming ch'ên yen hsing lu 宋名臣言行錄.

129. See note 115.

130. See memorial on this subject by Hsieh Chiang 謝絳, T.C.T.C.ts.10.ch.39.f.15.r.

130a. See Pei t'ieh hsing hsien yin shu suo chien ch'êng liao yu 被牒行縣因書所見呈僚友 and Hou hsien tso 新侯縣作 and Yu hsing ts'ŭ tso 又行次作. O.Y.H.Wks.ts.2.ch.10.f.2.r-v.

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131. See note 130a above.
132.

133. 王汝及 See T.S.C.C. XIV.268.

134. See T'ai tzŭ chung shê Wang chün mu chih ming 太子中舍王君墓誌銘. O.Y.H.Wks.ts.4.ch.29. f.6r.

135. See Nien p'u 年譜, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.1.

136. i.e. his wife was dead.

137. The two most famous varieties of peony. See Lo-yang mu tan chi 洛陽牡丹記, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.6. ch.51. f.5v.

138. See Lü chu t'ang tu yin 綠竹堂獨飲 O.Y.H.Wks. ts.6. ch.51. f.5v.

139. See above.

140. See Shu mêng fu 述夢賦, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.7. ch.58. f.2r.

141. See T'ing ch'ien liang hao shu 庭前兩好樹, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.6. ch.51. f.5v.

Page 58.

142. See note 140.
143.
144.

145. See Ho-nan fu ssŭ lu Chang chün mu piao 河南府司錄張君墓表 O.Y.H.Wks.ts.4.ch.24.f.7v. and Ho-nan fu ssŭ lu Chang chün mu chih ming 河南府司錄張君墓誌銘, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.8.ch.62. f.4r.

146. See note 138.

147. See ch. 3 p. 66.

Page 58 (contd).

148. See Kung hsien p'ei chi hsien i erh hou hui Hsiao-i ch'iao tao chung tso. 鞏縣陪祭廣孝恩二后回考義橋道中作, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.2.ch.10.f.3r.

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149. See Lü chu t'ang tu yin 綠竹堂獨飲, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.6.ch.51. f.5v.

150. See above.

150a. Huang Ho 黃河

151. See Chiang shang tan ch'in 江上彈琴, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.6.ch.51. f.6v. and Sung Yang-chih Hsü, 送楊寘序, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.5.ch.42.f.1v.

152. See Chiang shang tan ch'in, as above.

153. -

154. Tai shu chi Yin shih erh Yang shih liu Wang san 代書寄尹十二楊十六王三, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.6.ch.51. f.7v.

155. See above.

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156. See Li hsiu ts'ai tung yüan chi 李秀才東園記, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.8.ch.63.f.5r.

157. See H.T.C. ts.10.ch.39. f.7v.

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158. Yü shih chung ch'êng 侍史中丞
See ch.1. note 116.

159. Chieh tu shih 節度使.

160. 崇信軍, in Sui-chou. See C.G.No.1075.

161. See Liu shou Hsiang kung i chên Han-tung 留守相公移鎮漢東, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.7.ch.56.f.2v.

Page 61 (contd).

162a. 王曙, d.1034. See Sung shih ch.286. and W.H.C. No.1984.

His appointment at Lo-yang lasted only a few weeks; he was recalled to court to take up office in the Chief Military Executive and was replaced in Lo-yang by Wang Ts'eng. See H.T.C.ts.10.ch.39.f.9r. and 10.r.

162. P'an-kuan 判官.

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163. Kuan ko chiao k'an 館閣校勘

164. In the Li Pu 吏部.

165. 襄城 in Ch'en-chou fu 陳州府, in Ho-nan. See P.C.No.2781.

CHAPTER III.

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1. 學士院.

1a. Kuan ko chiao k'an 館閣校勘 See H.T.C.ts.10.ch.39.f. 18.r.

2. Yu ssŭ chien 右司諫.

3. See ch.2.p.62. note 164.

4. See ch.1. p.26. notes 163-4.

5. See Yü Mei Shêng-yü 與梅聖俞, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.19.ch.149. f.2v.

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6. See note 5.

7. See Sung shih ch.134. and H.T.C. ts.10.ch.39.f.19.r.

8. See Sung shih ch.286. and Pên chi 本記 ts.3 .ch.10.f.4r. and H.T.C.ts.10. ch.39.f.20.v.

8a. Chien i tai fu 諫議大夫.

8b. See ch.1.p.16. note 119.

9. See Yang fu jên mu chih ming 楊夫人墓誌銘, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.8.ch.62.f.7r.

10. See Sung Hsieh Hsi-shên hsüeh shih pei shih 送謝希深學士北使 O.Y.H.Wks.ts.2.ch.10.f.5.r.

11. See Sung Chang tun t'ien kuei Lo ko 送張屯田歸洛歌, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.6.ch.52.f.3v.

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12. See note 11.

12.a.

Page 65. (contd).

13. The Ch'ung wên tsung mu 崇文總目, a catalogue of the works in the four official libraries. The official responsible was Wang Yao-ch'ên 王堯臣 ? - 1056 A.D. See Sung shih: ch.292. The work was completed in 1042. Hsiu's own comments on this catalogue are to be found in Ch'ung wên tsung mu shu shih 崇文總目敘釋, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.15. ch.124. During the Southern Sung dynasty, in 1142, an abridged version was published, giving only the titles of the books included in the original work with an annotation if they were no longer in the imperial libraries. This was published to facilitate the search for lost books. Only this abridged version has survived in integral form but quotations from the original are to be found in the Yü Hai 玉海 and the Wên hsien t'ung k'ao 文獻通考, . In 1799 these quotations were collected together and inserted under the appropriate titles in the abridged version, the whole being published under the title of Ch'ung wên tsung mu chi shih 崇文總目輯釋.

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14. Sung Ch'i (宋祁 991-1040; See Sung shih ch.291.) He was dismissed for memorialising the throne with the request that ministers should be summoned to audience to discuss all matters of state. Four censors who supported him were also dismissed.

In August of the same year a fire broke out in the palace, the cause of which was unascertainable. Two officials interpreted this was a warning from heaven and used it as a pretext for demanding that the Empress should retire.

15. 羅崇勳

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16. See Sung shih: Pên chi 本記 ts.3.ch.11.f.2r.

17. -

18. 鄆. See Sung shih: Hou fei (shang) 后妃(上), ch.242.

18a. See Sung shih ch.311.

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19. 陳州, present Huai-ning 淮寧, in Ho-nan. See P.C.No.528.

See Sung shih: Pên chi 本記, ts.3.ch.10.f.2r. and ch.311. H.T.C. ts.10.ch.39.f.2v. gives the place of banishment as Shan-chou 澶州, in Ta-ming Fu 大名府 in Chih-li 直隸 See P.C. No.352. C.G. Nos.113 and 115 locate Shan-chou in Ho-pei.

20. See Sung shih: Pên chi 本記 ts.3.ch.10.f.2v. and H.T.C. ts.10.ch.39. f.9r.

21. 韓琦, 1008-1075. Sung shih ch.312. and W.H.C.No.2046.

22. 司馬光, 1019-1086. Sung shih ch.336. and W.H.C.No.2071.

23a. See ch.1.p.17. note 125.

23. 王安石, 1021-1080. Sung shih ch.327. and W.H.C. nO.2058 which gives dates as 1021-1086 as does G.B.D.

24. See Sung shih ch.327 and H.R.Williamson: Wang An-shih.

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25. 閻文應, See Sung shih ch.468.

26. See Sung shih ch.311. and Hou fei (shang) 后妃(上) ch.242. and Pên chi 本記, ts.3.ch.10.f.3r. and H.T.C.ts.10.ch.39.f.11.r.

(over)

Page 69.(contd).

26 (contd) She died in November 1035 after a short but violent illness. It was generally suspected, but never proved, that she was poisoned by Yen Wên-ying who feared the possibility of her restoration.

The two concubines were removed from the palace shortly after the deposition of the empress. See Sung shih: Pên chi 本紀 ts.3.ch.10.f.3r. and H.T.C. ts.10. ch.39.f.11.r.

27. 孔道輔.See Sung shih ch.297. Dates not known. G.B.D. No.1054 gives the date of his death as 1033 in error.

28. Sun Tsŭ-te 孫祖德. Sung shih ch.299.

Liu Huan 劉渙 1000-1080. Sung shih ch.324.

Chiang T'ang 姜堂, 980-1048. Sung shih ch.298.

Kuo Ch'uan 郭勸. See Sung shih: ch.297.

Yang Chieh 楊偕, 980-1048. Sung shih ch.300.

Ma Chiang 馬絳.

Tuan Shao-lien 段少連, 994-1039. Sung shih ch.297.

See Sung shih: Pên chi 本紀 ts.3.ch.10.f.3r. and H.T.C. ts.10.ch.39.f.11r - 12.r.

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29. 睦州, present I-ch'ang Fu 宜昌府 in Ho-pei. See P.C.No.341.

or, present Yen-chou 嚴州 in Chê-chiang. 浙江 See P.C.No.8451.

See Sung shih: Pên chi 本紀, ts.3.ch.10.f.3r. and H.T.C. ts.10.ch.39.f.12.r.

Page 70 (contd).

30. See ch.1.p.3. note 42.

31. The request of Fu Pi (富弼, 1004-1058. Sung shih ch.313. and W.H.C. No.2031 which gives dates as 1004-1083) then in office in Lo-yang that these officials should be reinstated was disregarded. The censor Sun 孫沔, (997-1047. Sung shih ch.288) who put forward a similar proposal was dismissed.

32. See H.T.C. ts.11.ch.40.f.4v. which gives his appointment as Li pu yüan wai lang 禮部員外郎, and T'ien ko tai chih 天閣待制 The Sung shih ch.314. gives this appointment as P'an kuo tzŭ chien 判國子監.

33. Lung t'u ko chih hsüeh shih 龍圖閣直學士.

34. Chi shih chung 給事中

35. Li pu yüan wai lang 吏部員外郎.

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36. H.T.C. ts.11. ch.40. f.10.v.

37.

38. See Po kuan t'u 百官圖.
This work does not appear to be available. It is not included in Fan's collected works nor in his memorials. It is referred to in the Yü Hai 玉海 and in the Ssŭ k'u ch'uan shu ts'ung mu t'i yao 四庫全書總目題要 and is quoted in H.T.C. ts.11.ch.40. f.15.v. It is not included in any of the collections.

Page 72.

39. See H.T.C.ts. 11.ch.40.f.15.r.

40. See ch.1.p.18.

41. Ssŭ lun 四論 Fan Wên-chêng kung chi 范文正公集, ts.2.ch.5.f.11.v.

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42. See Ssŭ lun: 四論 Chin ming lun 近名論, Fan Wên-chêng kung chi 范文正公集, ts.2.ch.5.f.11.v.

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43. See Ssŭ lun: 四論 T'ui wei ch'ên (hsiah) 推委臣(下) Fan Wên-chêng kung chi 范文正公集, ts.2.ch.5.f.11v-12r.

44. See ch.1. pp.24-25.

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45. See Ssŭ lun: 四論 T'ui wei ch'ên (hsiah) 推委臣(下), Fan Wên-chêng kung chi 范文正公集, ts.2.ch.5.12.v.

46. See Ssŭ lun: as above, ts.2.ch.5.f.13v.

47. See Sung shih: Pên chi 本記, ts.3.ch.10.f.5r. and H.T.C. ts.11.ch.40.f.15v.

48. See note 47.

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48a. 饒州. A fu in Chiang-hsi. See P.C.No.3154.

49. This was done at the instigation of Han Tu 韓瀆, a follower of Lü I-chien who hoped to profit by his suggestion. See Sung shih ch.311.

50. Yu ssŭ chien 右司諫, See H.T.C.ts.10. ch.39.f.3v.

Page 77.

51. See Yü Fan Chung-yen shu 與范仲淹書, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.8.ch.66.f.1r.

51a. See note 51.

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52. Kuan ko chiao k'an 館閣校勘, See H.T.C.ts.10.ch.39.f.6r.

53. 石介, 1005-1045. See Sung chih ch.432. and W.H.C. No.2032. See also H.T.C. ts.11. ch.40.f.11.r.

54. -

55. 杜衍, 978-1057. See Sung shih ch.310.

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56. See p.82.

57. See Shang Tu chung-ch'ên lun chü kuan shu 上杜中丞論舉官書, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.6.ch.47.f.6r.

58. See note 57.

59. See H.T.C. ts.11.ch.40.f.16.r. and Sung shih Pên chi 本紀 ts.3.ch.10.f.5.r.

Page 80.

59a. 余靖, 1000-1064. See Sung shih ch.320. and W.H.C.No.2018.

60. Chi hsien chiao li 集賢校理.

61. See Ch'ing liu Fan Chung-yen shu 請留范仲淹疏, Li tai ming ch'ên yen hsing lu 歷代名臣言行錄. ch.19.(b). f.14.r.

62. Chien chiu shui 監 酒稅

62a. 筠州 present Yün-lien hsien 筠連縣 in Hsü-shou 敘州 in Ssŭ-ch'uan 四川 See P.C.No.8948.

Page 81 (contd).

63. See Sung shih: ch.295. Sung shih:Pên chi 本記 ts.3.ch.10.f.5r. andH.T.C. ts.11. ch.40.f.16.v.

64. -

65. 呈州 present Wu-ch'ang fu 武昌府 in Hu-pei 湖北. See P.C.No.8084.
The Sung shih: ch.295 states that he was dismissed to T'ang-chou 唐州, present T'ang Hsien 唐縣 in Nan-yang Fu 南陽府, in Ho-nan. This is clearly an error since Ou-yang Hsiu wrote to him a few weeks later at Ying-chou. See page 95.

66. See H.T.C. ts.11.ch.40.f.17.v.

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67. 高若訥, 997-1055. See Sung shih: ch.288. and W.H.C.No.2011.

68. See H.T.C. ts.11.ch.40.f.16.v.

69. See Yü Kao ssŭ-chien shu 與高司諫書, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.8.ch.67.f.4r.
"I gave vent to extreme anger and blamed him severely" he remarked later. See Yü Yin Shih-lu shu 與尹師魯書, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.8.ch.67.f.5v.

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70. As shê jên 舍人 officials responsible for the censoring of mandates, government orders etc.

71. 尊天休

72. As Yü shih li hsing 御史裏行.

73. i.e. Yin Chu.

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74. i.e. Fan Chung-yen.

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75. Ta li ssŭ ch'êng 大理寺丞.

76. Ch'ien hsing yüan wai lang 前行員外郎. The 'ch'ien hsing' were the Board of Civil Office and the Board of Revenue. It is not stated to which of these Boards Fan Chung-yen was appointed.

76a. See Yü Kao ssŭ-chien shu 與高司諫書, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.8.ch.67.f.4r.

77. 夷陵縣, near present I-tu Hsien 宜都縣 in Hu-pei 湖北. See P.C.No.8492.

78. Hsiu remarked that the people had grown used to the apathy of the older generation "and now when they suddenly see men of our generation acting in this way, then down to the old serving-maid in the kitchen they are all astonished and argue over it and debate about it, not realising that this kind of affair was a daily occurrence with the men of former times." See Yü Yin Shih-lu shu 與尹師魯書, O.Y.H.Wks.ts.8.ch.67.f.5.v.

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79. See Sung shih ch.320. and Sung jên i shih
80. hui pien 宋人軼事彙編, p.368. and H.T.C. ts.11.ch.40.f.17.r.

81. See Yü Yin Shih-lu shu 與尹師魯書,
82. O.Y.H.Wks.ts.8.ch.67.f.5v.

83. Tung shui men 東水門.

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84. 君慤 i.e. Wang Kung-ch'ên 王拱辰, 1012-1085 A.D. See Sung shih: ch. 318 and W.H.C. No. 2060-

85. See note 79.

86. 張損之

87. 武平 i.e. Hu Su 胡宿 996-1067 A.D. See Sung shih: ch.318 and W.H.C.No.2009.

88. 源叔 i.e. Wang Chu 王洙 997-1057 A.D. See Sung shih: ch. 294 and W.H.C.No.2012.

89. 孫道滋

90. 刁景純 i.e. 刁約, T.S.C.C. 195.

91. 分期 i.e. Hsieh Shao-ch'ing 薛少卿

92. 汴河

93. 河陰 present Jung-tsê Hsien 滎澤縣 in Ho-nan. See P.C.No.3236 and C.G.No.585.

94. 淮河

Page 89.

95. 揚州 a fu in the Huai-yang 淮揚 circuit of Chiang-su 江蘇. See P.C.No.8350.

96. Ch'ang-chiang 長江

97. 荊南 in Hu-pei. See P.C.Nos.1159 and 1157. This was a regular travel route. Li Ao (李翺) a disciple of Han Yü (see pt.2.ch.1.p.27) followed the same route on the initial stages of his journey to Canton in 809 A.D. and has left a brief description of his itinerary in Lai nan lu 來南錄. See T'ang jên shuo wei 唐人說薈. ts.6.f.7.r.

98. 應天 a fu in the Chiang-ning circuit of Chiang-su 江蘇. See P.C.No.792.

99. -

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100. 淮魚 a kind of fish.

101. See Hui Ting pan-kuan shu 回丁判官書, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.8. ch.67. f.9.v.

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102. See P'i-p'a t'ing 琵琶亭, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.7.ch.56. f.4v.

103. See Note 101.

104. 楚州 present Huai-an fu 淮安府 in Chiang-su 江蘇. See P.C.No.2393.

104a. See Yü Yin Shih-lu shu 與尹師魯書, O.Y.H.Wks. ts.8.ch.67. f.5v.

105. See note 101.

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106. See note 101.

107. This was a fault which he censured strongly in Han Yü. See pt.2. ch.1.p.21. and ch.3.p.69.

108. See Yü i chih 于役志 O.Y.H.Wks. ts. 16. ch.125.

109. 壽州, in Fêng-yang fu 鳳陽 in An-hui 安徽. See P.C.No.6442.

110. 陳從益

111. 陳策

112. See p. 87.

113. 竇應 in Yang-chou fu 揚州 in Chiang-su 江蘇. See P.C.No.5534.

114. 高郵 in Yang-chou fu 揚州 in Chiang-su 江蘇. See P.C.No.3362.

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115. 邵伯 near Kao-yu-chou 高郵州 in Chiang-su江蘇. See P.C.No.6246.

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116. See note 95.

117. 潤州 present Tan-t'u 丹徒 in Chiang-su. See P.C.No.490.

118. 佑起已 i.e. Jên Hsi-i 任希夷 See Sung shih: ch.395.

119. 王琪 i.e. Wang Chün-yü 王君玉 See Sung shih: ch.350 and W.H.C.No.2064.

120. 許元 989-1057.A.D. See Sung shih: ch.299.

121. 唐詔

122. 蘇儀甫 i.e. Su Shen 蘇紳 See Sung shih: ch.294.

123. 眞州 present I-cheng Hsien 儀徵縣 in Chiang-su. See P.C.No.8541.

124. 江寧 a fu in Chiang-su. See P.C.No.792.

125. 采石 a town near T'ai-p'ing Hsien 太平縣 in An-hui安徽. See P.C.No.7385.

126. See note 101.

127. 江州 present Te-hua in Kiang-hsi see P.C.No.7146.

128. 蕲陽

129. 新治 present Wang-chiang Hsien 望江縣 in An-hui安徽 See P.C.No.7963.

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130. 石茲湖 Tz'ŭ-hu in Hu-pei 湖北
See C.G. No.108. and T.M.T. p.715.

131. 黃州 a fu in Hu-pei湖北. See P.C. No.2462.

132. 鄂州 Wu-ch'ang Fu 武昌府 in Hu-pei 湖北
See P.C. No.8084.

133. 金牛瓜

134. 修己

135. 昭化港,

136. 穿石石茲

137. 岳州 in Hu-pei.

138. 李家州

139. 荊江

140. 石首 in Ching-chou fu 荊州 in Hu-pei. 湖北,
See P.C.No.6410.

141. 分安渡, in Ching-chou fu 荊州 in Hu-pei. 湖北.
See P.C.No.3853.

142. See note 97.

142a. 相州 present An-yang 安陽 in Ho-nan
Page 94. See P.C.No.258.

143.
144. -
145.

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146. -

147.

147a. See Yu Yin shih-lu shu 與尹師魯書.

148. O.Y.H.Wks. ts.8.ch.67.f.5r.

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149. See above.

PART 2.

INTRODUCTION

Page ii.

1. See pt.2.ch.1. p.3. note 6.

Page iii.

2. See pt.2.ch.3.p.65. Yü Kao ssŭ chien shu 與高司諫書, which like many of Hsiu's writings gives adequate proof to the contrary.

3. Arthur Waley (Life and Times of Po Chü-i) remarks that it extended into the ninth century. Further research might carry it over to Sung times.

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4. See pt.1.ch.1.note 125.

5. See pt.1.ch.1. note 122.

6. See pt.1.ch.1. note 123.

7. i.e. T'ang 唐 618-906. and Sung 宋 960-1278

8. See pt.2.ch.2.p.34.

CHAPTER 1.

Page 1.

1. 駢文 See page 3.

2. 古文 See page 3.

3. See pt.1.ch.1 p.15. and ch.3. p.66 et.seq.

4. See pt.1. ch.1. note 71, and pt.2.ch.1. p.19 et.seq.

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5. See Memoires Historiques de Se-ma Tsien Vol.2. p.131 et.seq.

Page 3.

6. This is the subject of an article now in course of preparation.

7. M.Margoullies remarks: "... dans la seconde moitié de VIe.s., qu'apparaît pour le première fois bien que de façon assez peu précise, le terme Kou-wen, Style imitant les anciens, dont on se sert pour désigner les compositions des Han, surtout les Han antérieurs et des Tcheou." See "L'evolution de la prose artistique Chinoise" p.133.

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8. The term was first used by Han Yü in a letter to a friend: Yü Fen Su lun wen shu 與馮宿論文書, See p. 26.

9. 東漢 B.C. 206 - 23 A.D.

10. 賦 For an account of the nature and development of the fu see G.Margoullies op.cit.

11. See Shinnoya: Shina bongaku gairon kowa

Page 5.

12. 屈原 323-290 B.C. See Shih chi 史記 ch.84. and W.H.C.No.008.

13. 宋玉 290-223 B.C. See W.H.C.No.0013.

14. 離騷.

15. -

16. See Appendix B. for chronological table of main p'ien-wên writers.

17. 司馬相如, 179-117 B.C. See Shih Chi 史記 ch.117. and Ch'ien Han Shu 前漢書 ch.57.

18. 上林賦, See Wên Hsüan 文選, (Kokuyaku Kanbun taisei ed.) Vol.1.p.160.

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19. 揚雄, B.C. 53 - 18 A.D. See Ch'ien Han Shu 前漢書, ch.56. and W.H.C.No.0092.

20. -

21. See Fa yen: 法言 Wu tzŭ p'ien 吾子篇, ch.2.f.1r.

22. See op.cit. ch.2.f.2r.

23. 司馬遷, c. B.C. 145-86. See Ch'ien Han Shu 前漢書, ch.62. and W.H.C.No.0061.

24. 班固, 32-92 A.D. See Hou Han Shu 後漢書, ch.70. (appended to Pan Piao chuan 班彪傳.) and W.H.C. No.0131.

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25. The term 'eight dynasties' from the point of view of literary history, covers the period from the end of Western Han to the T'ang dynasty. See Shionoya: "Shina bongaku gairon kowa"

Page 7.(contd).

26. Shionoya: op.cit. By "external appearances" is meant not only the literary style, but also the artistic effect, or lack of it, resulting from certain combinations of characters. This purely visual aspect of writing was a consideration of considerable importance to p'ien-wên writers; nor were ku-wên writers wholly inattentive to it.

27. 曹魏 220-265 A.D.

See Kondo:

Kobun Fukuko	p.272.
Shi rokubun	p.423.
(henshi reisiku	p.1155.

28. 曹植, 192-232 A.D. See San kuo wei chih 三國魏志, ch.19. and W.H.C.No.0254.

29. The Pu hsia ch'i tzu 鄴下七子

30. 齊, 479-501 A.D.

31. 梁, 502-555 A.D.

32. 沈約, 441-513 A.D. See Liang Shu, 梁書, ch.13. and Nan shih 南史 ch.57. also W.H.C. No.0693.

33. 陳, 557-583 A.D.

34. 北周, 557-580.A.D.

35. 徐陵, 507-583.A.D. See Ch'ên Shu 陳書, ch.26. and Nan shih 南史, ch.62. (appended to Hsü Li chuan 徐摛傳). and W.H.C.No.0900.

Page 8.

36. 庾信, 513-581.A.D. See Chou shu 周書, C
N庾信, 513-581.A.D. See Chou shu 周書, ch.41. and Pei shih 北史 ch.83. and W.H.C. No.0929.

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37. One modern writer places the beginning of the 6-4 style (see p.31) at this point. "Hsiu and Yen made a great contribution to the development of p'ien-wên, - the matching of phrases of six and four. ... they were the first to make extensive use of alternating couplets of six and four". See Liu Lin-sheng 劉麟生 Chung kuo p'ien-wên shih 中國駢文史, p.64.

It was at this time, too, that the Wên Hsüan 文選 was compiled by Hsiao T'ung (蕭統 501-573 A.D. See Liang shu 梁書 ch.8. and Nan shih 南史 ch.53. and W.H.C.No.0889.) and became the model for p'ien-wên writers, (See Wylie:'Notes on Chinese Literature' p.192.), while the Wên hsin tiao lung 文心雕龍 of 劉勰思 of Liu Hsieh (d. c.473 A.D. See Liang shu 梁書 ch.50. and Nan Shih 南史 ch.72. and W.H.C. No.0637) had introduced the application of critical methods to p'ien-wên). (See Wylie: op.cit.p.197.

38. 諸葛亮, 181-234 A.D. See San kuo (Shu) chih 三國蜀志 ch.5/35 and W.H.C.No.0240.

39. 陳壽, 233-297 A.D. See

40. 杜預 222-284 A.D. See San kuo (Wei) chih 三國魏志 ch.16. (appended to Tu Tien chuan 杜畿傳) and Chin Shu 晉書, ch.34. And W.H.C. No.0299.

41. i.e. T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛 372-427 A.D. See Chin Shu 晉書 ch.94. Sung Shu 宋書 ch.93. and Nan Shih 南史 ch.75. and W.H.C. No. 0558.

42. 姚察 533-606.A.D. See Ch'ên Shu 陳書 ch.27. and Nan Shih 南史 ch.69. And W.H.C. No.0981

43. Liang Shu 梁書 . The work was completed by his son Yao Ssŭ-lien 思廉 (d.637). i.e. Yao Chien 姚簡

Page 8 (contd).

44. See Kondo: Kobun Fukuko p.272.
and Shionoya: Shina Bungaku Gairon Kowa.
The latter points out that in commenting on events the authors of the Liang Shu make use of the p'ien-wên style. Dynastic annals, moreover, hardly form a test case, since it would not be possible to compose them in anything but 'non-regulated prose'.

45. 宇文泰 506-537 A.D.
See Chou Shu 周書.

46a. 北周 557-580 A.D.

46. 蘇綽, 498-539 A.D. See Chou Shu 周書 ch.23. and Pei Shih 北史 ch.63.

47. Chou shu ta hua 周書大誥 of the Shu Ching 書經.

48. Chao 詔 See E.D.Edwards: A Classified Guide to the Thirteen classes of Chinese Prose. B.S.O.A.S.Vol.XII. p.777. (Vl.2.).

49. Kao 誥 See E.D.Edwards. op.cit. p.778. (14).

50. See Chou Shu 周書 ch.23.

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51. See p.21.

52. See Sui Shu 隋書 ch.66. Li O chuan 李諤傳

53. 李諤 See Sui Shu 隋書 ch.66. Pei Shih 北史 ch.77. and Chiu T'ang Shu 舊唐書 ch.150.

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54. See Sui Shu 隋書 ch.66.

55. 魏 三祖

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56.
57. -

58. 伏羲

59. 堯

60. 舜

Page 11.

61. 伊尹

62.

63. 周公

64. 孔子

65. See Sui Shu 隋書 ch.66.

66. For the nature of the attempt by Northern Chou to make a general reversion to the standard of the Chou dynasty of antiquity and the connection between the former and developments in the early T'ang period see T'ang tai chêng chih shih shu lun kao 唐代政治史述論稿 by Ch'ên Yen-ko 陳寅恪 and Sui T'ang chih tu yüan yüan lüeh lun kao 隋唐制度淵源略論稿 by the same author.

67. See p.14.

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68. See Shionoya: Shina Bungaku gairon kowa.

69. M.Margoullies would place the origins of the T'ang ku-wên movement even earlier: "Le grande école de Kou-wen à la tête de laquelle se place Han Yu .... ne devient universelle qu'à partir du XIe.s., mais il est important d'en signaler ici (i.e. 'dans la seconde moitie du VIe.s.,') l'origine première". See Margoullies op.cit.p.138. See further p.14.

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69 (contd). In connection with the Sung revival of ku-wên, Shionoya commits the contrary error of dating the beginning of the movement too late, holding that "The first rumours of ku-wên date from Yin Chu". See Shionoya op.cit. and see further ch.3.p.60-61.

70.
71. 王通, 584-618 A.D. See W.H.C.No.1072. But see further ch. 4. p. 30 et.seq.

72. 中說.

73. See note 70/1.
74.

75. See p.19.et.seq.

76. 朱熹 1130-1200 A.D. See Sung shih: ch.429. and W.H.C.2547.

77. See Chu tzŭ yü lei chi lüeh 朱子語類輯略
78. Lun wên 論文 ch.8.p.275.

See also Erh Ch'êng i shu 二程遺書.

79. See Chung Shuo: 中說 Shih chün p'ien 事君篇 ch.3.f.2v.

80. See Chung Shuo: 中說 Wang tao p'ien 王道篇 ch.1.f.3v.

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81. See Chung Shuo: 中說 T'ien ti p'ien 天地篇 ch.2.f.2r.

82. See Appendix B.

83. 陳子昂 656-c.698 A.D. See Chiu T'ang Shu 舊唐書 ch.190. and Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch.107. and W.H.C. No.1185 which gives dates as 661-702.A.D.

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85. See Shang Hsieh Ling wên chang ch'i 上薛令文章啟 Ch'in ting ch'üan T'ang wên 欽定全唐文 ch.254. Ch'ên Tzŭ-ang (6).f.5v.

86. See Yü Tung fan tso shih shou hsiu chu p'ien hsü 與東方左史新修竹篇敘

86a. 柳冕 730-804.A.D. See Chiu T'ang Shu 舊唐書 ch.149 (appended to Liu Teng chuan 柳登傳) Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch.132 (appended to Liu Fang chuan 柳芳傳) and W.H.C.No.1360.

87. See Ta Hsü-chou Chang shang shu lun wên wu shu 答徐州張尚書論文武書 Ch'in ting ch'uan T'ang wên 全唐文 ch.527.f.15.r.

88. See Hsieh Tu hsiang kung lun fang tu erh hsiang shu 謝杜相公論房杜二相書 Ch'in ting ch'uan T'ang Wen 全唐文 ch.527.f.8.r.

89. See Yü Hsü chi shih lun wên shu 與徐給事論文書 op.cit. ch.527.f.12.r.

It is perhaps fortuitous but not entirely fanciful that Liu's tripartite division of literary development foreshadows the Sung division into three main schools:

1. 'the trend of the will' - the ethical bias of the ku-wên school

2. 'the production of literature' - the Neo-Confucian bias that the expression of a mind possessed of proper principles automatically produces good literature.

3. 'the exercise of a function' - the practical aims of the Governmental school.

But see further ch.2. p. 34 and ch.4. p. 34

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90. See Ta Hsü-chou Chang shang shu lun wên wu shu 答徐州張尚書論文武書 Ch'in ting ch'uan T'ang wên 全唐文 ch.527.f.15.r.

91. 成王 1115.B.C.

92. 康王 1078.B.C. The first two kings of the Chou dynasty.

93. See note 90.

94. See Ta Ching-nan P'ei shang shu lun wên shu 答荊南裴尚書論文書 Ch'in ting ch'uan T'ang wên 全唐文 ch.527.f.14.v.

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95. See Ta Hsü-chou Chang shang shu lun wên wu shu 答徐州張尚書論文武書 Ch'in ting ch'uan T'ang wên 全唐文 ch.527.f.15.v.

95a. See Ta Yang chung ch'êng lun wên shu 答楊中丞論文書, Ch'in ting ch'uan T'ang wên 全唐文, ch.527.f.17.v.

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96. See Yü Ch'uan shih lang shu 與權侍郎書 Ch'in ting ch'uan T'ang wên 全唐文 ch.527.f.6.r.

97. See Ta Ching-nan P'ei shang shu lun wên shu 答荊南裴尚書論文書 Ch'in ting ch'uan T'ang wên 全唐文 ch.527.f.15.r.

98. See Yü Hsü chi shih lun wên shu 與徐給事論文書, Ch'in ting ch'uan T'ang wên 全唐文 ch.527.f.13.r.

99. See Chien shih shih 薦士詩 Han Ch'ang-li 韓昌黎 ch'uan chi 全集 ts.2.ch.2.f.18.v. and Sung Mêng Tung-yeh hsü 送孟東野序, op.cit. ts.6.ch.19.f.8v.

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100. 蘇源明 c.750. See Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書, ch.202. and W.H.C. No.1300.

101. 元結, 723-772 A.D. See Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書, ch.143. and W.H.C.No.1338.

102. 李華見, 766-794 A.D. See Chiu T'ang shu 舊唐書, ch.144. Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch. 156 and 203. (appended to Li Hua chuan 李華傳).

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103. The orthodox ku-wên hierarchy derives from Han Yü , but later writers include Wang T'ung.

104. -

105. 獨孤及 744-796.A.D. See Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch.162. and W.H.C. No.1399.

106. 梁肅 753-793.A.D. See Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch.202. (appended to Su Yüan-ming chuan 蘇源明傳) and W.H.C.No.1420.

107. 董仲舒 2nd.c.B. C. See Shih chi 史記 ch.121. Ch'ien Han Shu 前漢書 ch.56. and W.H.C.No.0044. which gives dates 179-93 B.C.

108. One source at least gives to these two writers the credit for founding the T'ang ku-wên movement. See Nien erh shih cha chi 廿二史劄記 20. 17.

109. But see J.K.Rideout: The Context of the Yüan Tao and the Yüan Hsing , B.S.O.A.S. Vol.XII. pt.2. p.403. and J.R.Hightower; Topics in Chinese Literature, p.68.

110. See G.Margoullies: L'evolution de la prose artistique chinoise. p.183 et.seq.

111. See Kondo : which points to Han Yü's use of parallèllism and states that the distinction between the style used by Han Yü and that of p'ien-wên is that in the former content is not subordinated to

Page 20 (contd).

111.(contd). considerations of form. See further p.21 et.seq.

Page 21.

112. See Margoullies: op.cit. p.183.

113. See Ta Li hsiu ts'ai shu 答李秀才書, Han Ch'ang-li ch'uan chi 韓昌黎全集. ts.5.ch.22.f.4.r.

114. See Ta Liu Chêng-fu shu 答劉正夫書, Han Ch'ang-li ch'uan chi 韓昌黎全集. ts.6.ch.18.f.4.r.

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115. See T'i Ou-yang Shêng ai ts'ŭ hou 題歐陽生哀辭後, Han Ch'ang-li ch'uan shu, 韓昌黎全集 ts.7.ch.22.f.4.r.

116. See Ta Li I shu 答李翊書, Han Ch'ang-li ch'uan shu 韓昌黎全書. ts.5.ch.16.f.11.r-v.

117. See Sung Mêng Tung-yeh hsü 送孟東野序. Han Ch'ang-li ch'uan shu 韓昌黎全集. ts.6.ch.19.f.7.r-v.

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118. It was for this reason that Han Yü expressed the hope that Heaven might place his students in "poverty and distress, moving their hearts with grief in order to cause them to give utterance to their misfortunes" (op.cit.) On this point Ou-yang Hsiu later joined issue with Han Yü and preferred the views of Han Yü's unorthodox follower Li Ao. See p.27.

119. See note 117.

120.

Page 23 (contd).

121. Although Han Yü's Confucianism was not orthodox when compared to the teachings of the sages, he was nevertheless much closer to them than some of his predecessors and contemporaries in the ku-wên field. Tu-ku Chi, for example, had passed a Taoist examination instead of taking the chin shih degree (see Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch.162), a proceedure which was much in vogue at the time.

122. -

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123. In 798 Han Yü went to Pien-chou 汴州 in Honan (see P.C.Nos.2778 and 3256) to take up office. He was there visited by Mêng Tung-yeh(孟東里子 see Hsin T'ang Shu ch.176 - appended to Han Yü chuan) and Chiu T'ang Shu ch.160.) and by Li Ao (see p.27) and Chang Chi (張籍 See Chiu T'ang Shu ch.160. and Hsin T'ang Shu ch.176 (appended Han Yü chuan) The two latter remained with him as students, and Han Yü's school grew from this beginning. By the end of the year he had some thirty students. (Notes from lectures delivered by Professor Rideout).

124. 柳宗元 773-918 A.D. See Chiu T'ang Shu 舊唐書 ch.160. and Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch.168. and W.H.C.No.1485.

125. See Ta Yen hou-yü lun shih tao shu 答嚴厚輿論師道書, Liu Ho-tung ch'üan chi 柳河東全集, ts.8.ch.34.f.8.r.

126. See Shih Shuo 師說 Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan chi 韓昌黎全集, ts.4.ch.12.f.1.v.

127. See Fu Chuang Wên-fu shu, 復莊溫夫書 Liu Ho-tung ch'üan chi 柳河東全集 ts.8.ch.34. f.13.r. and Pao-yüan chün Ch'ên hsiu ts'ai pi shih ming shu 報袁君陳秀才避師名書 Liu Ho-tung chi 柳河東全集 ts.8.ch.34. f.8.v.

Page 25.

128. See Ta Yen Hou-yü lun shih tao shu 答嚴厚輿論師道書, Liu Ho-tung ch'üan chi 柳河東全集, ts.8.ch.34.f.8.v.

129. See Ta Wei Chung-li lun shih tao shu 答韋中立論師道書 Liu Ho-tung ch'üan chi 柳河東全集 ts.8.ch.34.f.3.v.

130. See Yang p'ing shih wên chih chi hou hsü 楊評事文之集後序 Liu Ho-tung ch'üan chi ts.6.ch.21.f.6.r. and Liu Tsung-chih Hsi Han wên lei 柳宗直西漢之類頁 Liu Ho-tung ch'üan chi 柳河東全集, ts.6.ch.21.f.5.r-v.

131. In the field of Sung ku-wên however he exercised a considerable influence. See ch.2. p. 45. and ch.4. p. 85.

Page 26.

132. See Ta Li-i shu 答李翊書 Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan chi 韓昌黎全集, ts.5.ch.16.f.10.v.

133. Yü Fêng Su lun wên shu 與馮宿論文書 Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan chi 韓昌黎全集 ts.6.ch.17.f.11.r.

134. See Li Han: 李漢 Ch'ang-li hsien chi hsü 昌黎先集 Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan chi 韓昌黎全集 f.2.r.

135. See Chin hsüeh chieh 進學解 Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan chi 韓昌黎全集 ts.4.ch.12.f.5.v.

136. See Po-i Sung 伯夷頌 Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan chi 韓昌黎全集 ts.4.ch.12.f.14.r.

Page 27.

137. 皇甫湜 c.813. See Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch.176. (appended to Han Yü chuan 韓愈傳).

Page 27 (contd).

138. 李翺 ? - 844 A.D. See Chiu T'ang Shu 舊唐書 ch.160 and Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch.177. and W.H.C.No.1535.

139. See Ta Chu Tsai-yen shu 答朱載言書
Li Wên kung chi 李文公集 ts.2.ch.6.f.43.r.

140. In 799-800 A.D. Li Ao published a set of three essays entitled Fu Hsing 復性 (A Reversion to one's true nature). Li's arguments in these essays, although supported by quotations from the Confucian classics, were purely Buddhistic, and in was in order to re-assert his position in the face of Li's heresy that Han Yü was compelled to write (in 800-801 and sooner than he wished to do) his series of 'Enquiries', i.e.
Yüan Tao 原道 Yüan Hsing 原性
Yüan Hui 原毀 Yüan Jen 原人
Yüan Kuei 原鬼
See Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan chi 韓昌黎全集 ts.4.ch.11. f.1.r.-10.r.

141. I have been unable to trace in any edition of Li Ao's works the essay entitled Tu Wên chung tzu 讀文中子 which is quoted by Liu Lin-sheng.

142. See Chi Ts'ung Ti-ch'êng ts'ŭ shu 寄從第正簡書 Li Wên kung chi 李文公集 ts.2.ch.8.f.64.r.

Page 28.

144. See Ta Li Ao ti i shu & ti erh shu 答李翺第一二書
Ch'in ting ch'üan T'ang wên 全唐文 ch.685. f.22.r.-23.v.

145. 孫樵 c.867. See W.H.C.No.1647.

Page 28 (contd).

146. 來公 無擇.

Page 29.

147. See Yü Wang Lin hsiu ts'ai shu 與王霖秀才書 Ch'in ting ch'üan T'ang wên 全唐文 ch.794.f.14.r.

148. See Yü yu jên lun wên shu 與友人論文書 Ch'in ting ch'üan T'ang wên 全唐文 ch.794.f.14.r-v.

149. 皮日休 c.880 See W.H.C.No.1650.

150. 陸龜蒙 d.c.881. See Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch.196. and W.H.C.No.1651.

151. Ch'ing Han Wên-kung p'ei hsiang shu 請韓文公配饗書 and Ch'ing Mêng tzŭ wei hsüeh k'o shu 請孟子為學科書 Ch'in ting ch'üan T'ang wên 全唐文 ch.796.f.17.r - 18.v.

Page 30.

152. See Ch'ing Han Wên-kung p'ei hsiang shu as above.

153. See note 152.

154. See p.24.

Page 31.

154a. See I Ch'êng-chün po shih shu 移成均博士書 Ch'in ting ch'üan T'ang wên 全唐文 ch.796.f.20.r.

154b. See Yüan Hua 原化 Ch'in ting ch'üan T'ang wên 全唐文 ch.798.f.26.r.

155. See Appendix B.

156. 李商隱. 813-858 A.D. See Chiu T'ang Shu 舊唐書 ch.190. and Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch.203. and W.H.C.No.1598.

Page 31 (contd).

157. 令狐楚 765-836 A.D. See Chiu T'ang Shu 舊唐書 ch.172. and Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch.166. and W.H.C.No.1467.

158. See note 156.

159. See Fan nan wên chi hsiang chu 樊南文集詳注 Fan nan chia chi hsü 樊南甲集序. ts.4.ch.7.f.24.v.

Page 32.

160. 溫庭筠 c.859. See Chiu T'ang Shu 舊唐書 ch.190. and Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch.91. (appended to Wên Ta-ya chuan 溫大雅傳).

161. 段成式 d.683 A.D. See Chiu T'ang Shu 舊唐書 ch.167 (appended to Tuan Wên-ch'an chuan 段文昌傳) and Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch.89 (appended to Tuan Chih-hsüan chuan 段志玄傳).

CHAPTER 11.

Page 33.

1. See pt.2.ch.1. note 77.

Page 34.

2. See for example pp.30 and 54.

3. See pt.2.ch.1. p.23 note 121, and ch.3. p.68 et.seq.

4. See pt.2.ch.1. p.26 et.seq.

5. See pt.2.ch.4. p.84.

Page 35.

6. 周敦頤 1017-1073. See Sung shih: ch.427.

7. 邵雍 1011-1077 A.D. See Sung shih: ch.427. and W.H.C.No.2055.

8. Ch'êng I 程頤 1033-1107. A.D. See Sung shih: ch.427. and W.H.C.No.2144.

Ch'êng Hao 程景頤 1032-1085. A.D. See Sung Shih: ch.427 and W.H.C.No.2109.

9. 張載 1020-1076. See Sung shih: ch.427. and W.H.C.No.2080.

10. 陸象山

11. 李壽見 1009-1059. See Sung shih: ch.432. and W.H.C.No.2049.

12. See pt.2.ch.1. p.15. note 89.

Page.36.

13. -

14. See pt.2.ch.4.p.84.

Page 36 (contd).

15. This school itself contained shifts of emphasis, as the T'ang schools had done, which hint at the developments in the other two schools - variations which will only emerge complete from a detailed study of individual writers. See ch.4.p. 79.

16. Chiu tsêng 九僧.

17. Their collected works were already out of circulation at the beginning of Ou-yang Hsiu's career. He remarks that people did not even know who ar what the Chiu Tsêng were which he deplored. In his youth he had often heard people praise Hui Tsung The names of the other eight he was unable to remember, but he remembered some lines from their poems, which, he said, contained many beautiful phrases. (See Chiu tsêng shih 九僧詩 Shih pi 試筆 ch.1. O.Y.H.Wks.ts.16.ch.130. f.4.r.

All that survives of the collected works of the Chiu Tsêng is Hui Tsung chü t'u po yün 惠崇句圖百韻
The other eight were:

Chien-nan Hsi Chou	劍南希晝
Chin-hua Pao Hsien	金華保暹
Nan-yüeh Wên Chao	南越文兆
T'ien-t'ai Hsing Chao	天台行肇
Ju-chou Chien Ch'ang	汝州簡長
Ch'ing-ch'êng Wei Fêng	青城惟鳳
Chiang-tung Yü Chao	江東宇昭
Ê-mei Huai-ku.	峨眉懷古

Page 36 (contd)

18. 西崑酬唱集.

The other members of this school were:

Li Tsung-o	李宗諤
Ch'ên Yüeh	陳越
Li Wei	李維
Liu Ch'i	劉筠
Ting Wei	丁謂
Tiao K'an	刁衎
Chang Yung	張詠
Ch'ien Wei Ch'i	錢惟濟
Jên Sui	任隨
Shu Ya	舒雅
Chao Chiung	晁迥
Tsui Tsun Tu	崔遵度
Hsieh Ying	薛映
Liu Ping	劉秉

Page 37.

19. See Yin Shih-lu wên chi hsü 尹師魯文集序, Fan Wên-chêng kung chi 范文正公集, ts.2.ch.6.f.10.r.

20. 柳開 948-1017.A.D. See Sung shih ch.440. and W.H.C.No.1907 which gives dates as 948-1001.A.D.

Page 38.

21. 趙

22. 天水 See P.C.No.7283.

23. See Ho-tung hsien shêng chi 河東 Liu kung hsing chuang 柳公行狀 ts.3.ch.16.f.1.v.

Page 38 (contd).

24. See note 23.

Page 39.

25. See Ho-tung hsien shêng chi 河東先生集
Ch'ang-li chi hou hsü 昌黎集後序
ts.3.ch.11.f.3v-4r.

26. ming 名

27. 扃鬳

28. tzŭ 字

28a. 紹元

28b. 閎

29. 中淦

30. See Ho-tung hsieng shêng chi 河東先生集
Pu-wang hsien shêng chuan 補亡先生傳.
ts.1.ch.2.f.5.v.

31. Ho-tung hsien shêng chi 河東先生集
Ying tzê 應責, ts.1.ch.1.f.10r-11v.

Page 40.

32. See also p.46.

33a. See note 31.

33. See Ho-tung hsien shêng chi 河東先生集
Yü Wang hsüeh shih ti san shu 與王學士第三書.
ts.1.ch.5.f.7.v.

34. See note 33.

Page 42.

35. See Sung shih ch.440. and Ho-tung hsien shêng chi: Fu luh 河東先生集：附錄

Page 42.(contd).

36. See p. 36.

37. 王禹偁 See Sung shih: ch.269.

37a. 范杲 See Sung shih: ch.249. (appended to Fan Chih chuan 范質傳.)

38. 楊昭儉 See Sung shih: ch.269.

39. 趙相 See Sung shih: ch.303.

Page 43.

40. See Nan-yang chi 南陽集 Pên wên p'ien 本文編 ch.6.f.8.v - 5 v.

41. See note 40.

Page 44.

42. 舒亟克

43. 長萬

44. See note 40.

Page 45.

44a. See note 40.

45. See p.34 and ch.4.p. 85.

46. Mu Hsiu seems to have been the only one of these early writers to be aware of this descrepancy. See p.57. Ou-yang Hsiu avoided this confusion but fell into another, and from the point of view of Confucian orthodoxy probably a worse, error. See ch.3. p.69.

47. 王禹偁 954-1001.A.D. See Sung shih: ch.293. and W.H.C.No.1918.

Page 46.

48. Liu Kai's critic had evidently been such a one. See pp.39-40.

49. See Hsiao ch'u chi 小畜集 Ta Chang Fu shu 答張扶書 and Erh shu 二書 ts.4.ch.18.f.11v-12v. See also pp.40. 54. and ch.3. p.66.

50. See Hsiao ch'u chi 小畜集 Ta Chang Fu shu 答張扶書 ts.4.ch.18.f.11.v.

51. See note 50.

Page 47.

52. 孫何 See Sung shih: ch.306.

53. 李迪 965-1034.A.D. See Sung shih: ch.310.

54. See pt.1.ch.1.note 107.

55. 胡王後 993-1059.A.D. See Sung shih: ch.432.

56. 石介 1005-1045 A.D. See Sung shih: ch.432. and W.H.C.No.2032.

57. 孫復 992-1057.A.D. See Sung shih: ch.432.

58. A cursory investigation seems to indicate
59. that such land grants were not given earlier than the date mentioned. The grants were known as hsüeh t'ien 學田 and the produce of them was used solely for such purposes as the payment of teachers' salaries etc.

60. 畝久 roughly 1/6th of an acre.

61. See H.T.C. The first grant appears to have been made to Ts'ai-chou in 1038. See ts.11.ch.40. f.21.v. There are frequent entries of this kind over the next five years.

62. See pt.2.ch.1. p.31. note 154a.

See also Student-life under the Sung dynasty Pt.1. (宋代の太學生生活(上)) by I.Miyazaki (宮崎市定) The Shirin Vol. XVI.No.1. January 1931. p.97.

Page 48.

63. 湖州 a fu in Che-chiang.

64. 蘇州 a fu in Chiang-su.

65. See Sung Yüan hsüeh an 宋元學案
An-ting hsüeh an 安定學案.

65a. 劉彝 1018-1086 A.D. See W.H.C.No.2065.

66. See note 65.

67. See note 70.

67a. See pt.2.ch.1.p.15.

68. 陰 the negative or female principle in nature.

69. 陽 the positive or male principle in nature.

Page 59.

70. See Shih Tsu-lai chi 石徂徠集 Shang Chao hsien sheng shu 上趙先生書 pt.1. f.7.v.

In stressing the importance of practical application these writers and their followers point forward to the later development of the Governmental school. See p.35. and ch.4.p.

71. See p.43.

72. Kuai shuo 怪說 Shih Tsu-lai chi 石徂徠集 pt.2. f.25r.-27.v.

73. See pt.2.ch.1. p. 23-4

74. See pt.1.ch.1. p.27.

Page 51.

75. 契 The Minister of Instruction to the Emperor Shun.

Page 51 (contd).

76. 后土 One of the Ministers of Huang Ti.

77. 譽 One of the emperors of the legendary period.

77a. 禹

78. 啻

79. 文

80. 武

Page 53.

81. See note 72.

82. See Yü Chün Huang hsüeh shih shu 與君皇學士書 Shih Tsŭ-lai chi 石徂徠集 pt.1.f.45.r.

Page 54.

83. See Chêng Han wên 鄭韓文 Shih Tsŭ-lai chi 石徂徠集 pt.2.f.37.v.

84. See Yü P'ei yüan wai shu 與裴員外書 Shih Tsŭ-lai chi 石徂徠集 pt.1.f.54r.-55.v.

Page 56.

85. See Shang Chao hsien shêng shu 上趙先生書 Shih Tsŭ-lai chi 石徂徠集 pt.1.f.10.r.

86. See Shang Chang ping pu shu 上張兵部書 Shih Tsŭ-lai chi 石徂徠集 pt.1.f.13.r.

87. 穆脩 979-1032. See Sung Shih ch.442. and W.H.C.No.1974

88. See p.39.

89.

Page 57.

90. See T'ang Liu hsien shêng hou hsü. 唐柳先生後序 Ho-nan Mu kung chi 河南穆公集 ch.2.f.11.r.

91. See also Mu ts'an-chün i shih 穆參軍遺事 f.3r. Ho-nan Mu king chi 河南穆公集

See also Liu Hsiang-shan by Sui Chi-huang, p.11.n. which affiliates Mu Hsiu to the Neo-Confucian school.

Page 58.

93. See Ta Ch'iao Shih shu 答喬適書 Ho-nan Mu kung chi 河南穆公集 ch.2.f.1.r-v.

94. See Mu ts'an chün i shih 穆參軍遺事 f.5.v. Ho-nan Mu kung chi 河南穆公集

95. See note 94.

Page 59.

96. See Sung shih ch.295. and Mu ts'an-chün i shih 穆參軍遺事 f.3.r. Ho-nan Mu kung chi 河南穆公集.

CHAPTER 111.

Page 60.

1. 才翁

2. See Su shih wên chi hsü 蘇氏文集序
O.Y.H.Wks. ts.5.ch.41. f.6.v.

Page 61.

3. See Lun Yin Shih-lu mu chih 論尹師魯墓誌.
O.Y.H.Wks. ts.9.ch.73.f.4.v.

4. See Chiu pên Han wên hou hsü 舊本韓文後序
O.Y.H.Wks. ts.9.ch.73.f.7.r.

5. See Ho-nan chi: erh.f.10.T'ang Liu hsien shêng wên chi hou hsü 河南集二：唐柳先生文集後序

6. p'ien, 篇.

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7. 祖擇之 1006-1085.A.D. See Sung shih: ch.331. and W.H.C.No.2036.

8. See Ta Tzŭ Tsê-chih 答祖擇之
O.Y.H.Wks. ts.9.ch.48.f.5.r.

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9. Chi 記

10. See Sung ming ch'ên yen hsing lu 宋名臣言行錄

11. See Shuang kuei lou 雙桂樓
O.Y.H.Wks.ts.7.ch.56. f.1.r.

12. See for example Shang Hsü hsüeh shih ch'i 上胥學士啟 O.Y.H.Wks. ts.12 ch.95 f.1.
Hsieh Hsü hsüeh shih ch'i 謝胥學士啟
O.Y.H.Wks. ts.12 ch.95 f.3r and Chien shih yü pu cho pu ch'êng ch'i fu 監試玉不成器賦
O.Y.H.Wks. ts. 9 ch.74 f.2.See also Appendix C. for list of writings during period under review.

Page 64.

13. See Yü Chang hsiu ts'ai shu 與張秀才書
O.Y.H.Wks. ts. 8. ch. 66. f. 3.r.

14. See Yü Mei Shêng-yü 與梅聖俞
O.Y.H.Wks. ts.19.ch.149.f.1.r.

15. See pt.1.ch.2.note 1.

16. 律詩

17. 古詩

18. 樂府

19. 古賦武

20. 賦武

21. Chi, 記

22. Ming, 銘

23. Hsü, 序

24. Chu, 啟

25. Pa, 跋

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26. -

27. See pt.1. ch.3. p.82.

28. See p.75-6.

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29. Ou-li chih wên, 偶儷之文

30. Li 理

31. See Lun Yin Shih-lu mu chih 論尹師魯墓誌.
O.Y.H.Wks. ts.9.ch.73. f.4.v.

Page 66 (contd).

32. See Tai jên shang Wang Shu mi chïu hsien hsü shu 代人上王樞密求先序書.
O.Y.H.Wks. ts.8.ch.67.f.1v.

33. See pt.2.ch.2.p.42.

34. See pt.2.ch.1. p.4. et.seq.

35. Legge's translation: Chinese Classics.
Vol.V.p.517.

Page 67.

36. See pt.2.ch.1. p.15.

Page 68.

37. See pt.2.ch.1.p.6.

38. See pt.2.ch.1.p.12.

39. See Ta Wu Ch'ung hsiu ts'ai shu 答吳充秀才書
O.Y.H.Wks. ts.6.ch.47.f.5.r.
and Ta Tzŭ Tsê-chih shu 答祖擇之書.
O.Y.H.Wks. ts.9.ch.43.f.5.r. and
Sung Hsü Wu-tang nan kuei hsü 送徐無黨南歸序.
O.Y.H.Wks. ts.6. ch. 43. f.1v.

Page 69.

40. See for example Derk Bodde: The Rise of Neo-Confucianism and its borrowings from Buddhism and Taoism.
Hu Shih: The Development of the Logical Method in China and A.Forcke: Geschichte der neureren Chinesische Philosophie.

41. See pt.2.ch.2.p.57.

42. The influence which Li Ao exerted over Ou-yang Hsiu was rezognised by other writers if not by Hsiu himself. Thus, Su Hsün later criticised Hsiu on the grounds that although he exerted himself to the utmost in studying Han Yü nevertheless in spirit his writings were closer to those of Li Ao.

Page 69(contd).

43. From Han Chi. See Shu Li Ao Hou 書李翺後
O.Y.H.Wks. ts.9.ch.73.f.1.r.

44. 歐陽詹

45. See Ou-yang Shêng ai tz'ŭ 歐陽生哀辭,
Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan chi 韓昌黎全集.
ts.7.ch.22.f.2.r.-.3.v.

Page 70.

46. See pt.2.ch.1. note 140.

47. 中庸 The Doctrine of the Mean.

48. See Tu Li Ao wên. 讀李翺文
O.Y.H.Wks.ts.9.ch.73.f.2.r.

49. 幽懷賦.

50. See Kan erh niao fu 感二鳥賦
Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan chi 韓昌黎全集
ts.1.ch.1.f.1.r.

51. See note 48.

52. See Chi chiu pên Han wên hou hsü 記舊本韓文後序
O.Y.H.Wks. ts.9.ch.73.f.7.r.

53. See pt.2.ch.1.p.22-3 notes 117-118.

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54. See Yü Yin Shih-lu shu 與尹師魯書.
O.Y.H.Wks.ts.8.ch.67.f.6.v.

55. See note 52.

Page 72.

56. Tsêng Kung and Wang An-shih were in touch with Hsiu at the beginning of this period. See pt.1.ch.1.p.17. note 124.

57. See pt.1.ch.3.

Page 72 (contd).

58. He was appointed Chih chien yüan 知諫院

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58a. Hsü Tzu chih t'ung chien ch'ang pien. Microfilm edition No.64. 1st exposure F.R. 3/3.272. (Cambridge University Library).

59. See Su Tzŭ-mei wên chi hsü 蘇子美文集序 O.Y.H.Wks. ts.5.ch.41. f.6.v.

60. See Wên hsien t'ung k'ao 文獻通考 by Ma Tuan-lin 馬端臨 ch.31-32.

61. See Sung shih: ch.336.

62. See pt.2.ch.2.p.6.

Page 74.

63. His dates are uncertain.

64 -

Page 75.

65. See (for example Wu Tzŭ-lang: 吳子良 Lin hsia ou t'an 林下偶談.

66. See p.66.

67. See for example Ts'ai chou ch'i chih jên ti erh piao 蔡州乞致仕第二表 and Hsieh Fu Lung t'u ko chih hsüeh shih piao 謝復龍圖閣直學士表 O.Y.H.Wks.ts.12. ch.94f. 9.v. and ts.11.ch.90.f.9.r.

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68. A tendency particularly marked in Su Hsün.

CHAPTER IV.

Page 78.

1. For example H.R.Williamson: Wang An-shih. Dr.J.C.Ferguson: Political Parties of the Northern Sung dynasty (J.N.C.B.R.A.S.1927, Vol.LVIII.p.36.) touches only very briefly on the early years of Jên Tsung's reign.

Page 80.

2. See pt.2.ch.1. p.12.

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3. 王質 769-836 A.D. See Chiu T'ang Shu 舊唐書 ch.163 and Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch.164.

4. 王勃 648-675 A.D. See Chiu T'ang Shu 舊唐書 ch.190 and Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch.201.

5. 王績 d.644. See Chiu T'ang Shu 舊唐書 ch.192 and Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch.196.

6. 員半者傳.

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8. 陳叔達 c.573-635 A.D. See

9. See pt.2.ch.1.note 150.

10. 司空圖 837-908 A.D. See Chiu T'ang Shu: 舊唐書 ch.190 and Hsin T'ang Shu:新唐書 ch.194.

11. See pt.2.ch.1.note 149.

12. Pei 碑

13. 王子安集序

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14. 阮逸, c.1038. See T.S.C.C. XIV.423.

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16. Wang Ning 王凝

17. Fu-chih 福畤 and Fu-chiao 福郊

18. See Robert des Rotours: Traite des Examens p.64.

19. See pt.2.ch.1. note 141.

20. 劉贊 See Chiu T'ang Shu 舊唐書 ch.190. and Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 ch.178.

21. See pt.2.ch.1. p.29.

22. See pt.2.ch.2.p.37.

23. See pt.2.ch.2.p.47.

24. See pt.2.ch.2.p.56.

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25. See pt.2.ch.3.p.68.

26. See Ho-nan Ch'êng shih i shu 河南程氏遺書 ch.18.p.254.

27. See pt.2.ch.1. p.15.

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28. See note 27.

29. See pt.2.ch.1. note 89.

30. See G.Margoullies: L'evolution de la prose artistique chinoise

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31. -

32. 李白 701-762 A.D. Chiu T'ang Shu ch.190. Hsin T'ang Shu ch.202. W.H.C.No.1265.

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36. See pt.2.ch.1.page 19.

37.

38. See pt.2.ch.1.p.14.

39. See pt.2.ch.1.p.24.

40. See pt.2.ch.1.p.27.

41. See pt.2.ch.4. note 40.

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42. See pt.2.ch.1. p.31.

43. See pt.2.ch.1.p.8.

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B.S.S.	-	Basic Sinological Series.
B.S.O.A.S.	-	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
C.T.W.	-	Ch'üan T'ang Wên.
H.J.A.S.	-	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.
J.N.C.B.R.A.S.	-	Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
S.P.P.Y.	-	Ssŭ pu pei yao edition.
S.P.T.K.	-	Ssŭ pu tsung k'an edition.
T.S.C.C.	-	Ts'ung shu chi ch'êng edition.

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